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THE FISHERIES QUESTION.

A STRICT adherence to its title would make this article as brief as the famous chapter on "The Snakes in Ireland," for, properly speaking, there is no "fisheries question." The international dispute which passes under that name is more far-reaching than the interests of a particular industry, and involves not merely the safety and prosperity of a single class of American citizens, but the dignity and honor of the United States. Partly through inattention and partly by the efforts of the administration and its especial friends, the American people have been led to believe that all that is involved in our dispute with Canada and England concerns doubtful treaty constructions and complicated and obscure fishery rights. This, however, is very far from the truth. Our fisheries and our fishermen have been merely the instruments and the victims of a policy by which Canada seeks to extort certain commercial concessions from the United States. The real question now is not whether we shall fish within the three-mile limit, but whether we shall have the ordinary commercial rights in Canadian waters which we extend in our own ports to all civilized people, Canadians included. A very brief review of the history and facts of the case will show that this is the vital and essential question at issue to-day between the United States and Great Britain.

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By the treaty of 1783 we retained all the unrestricted fishery rights we had before as subjects of the British Crown, except the right "to dry and cure" on Newfoundland. So jealous, however, was England of our fisheries that the signatures to the Treaty of Paris were hardly dry before the annoyances, restrictions and disputes began which have lasted with intervals until the present time. At the close of the war of 1812 an effort was made, when the Peace Commissioners met at Ghent, to shut us out from the fisheries, and the attempt was defeated by the indomitable firmness of John Quincy Adams, as it had been in 1783 by the vigorous resistance of his father. Still the matter remained troublesome and unsettled, and in 1818 a new treaty was made, which has been called a compromise, to the provisions of which we have returned since the abrogation of the treaty of Washington, and on which the present dispute is commonly, but erroneously, supposed to hinge.

By that treaty of 1818 we gave up the right to take fish within three miles of certain shores, or to enter within such limit save for the purpose of obtaining "*shelter, repairs, wood, and water.*" On the other hand, we regained the right to dry and cure on certain other shores. In 1824 England, dissatisfied with the treaty of 1818, or, in other words, with the growth of American fisheries, as she had been after the treaty of 1783, set up what was known as the "headland theory," to the effect that the three-mile limit was to be measured from an imaginary line drawn from headland to headland, and was not to follow the line of the coast. The object and result of this were to exclude us from these great bays and to injure our fisheries. There was some discussion, and then the dispute died down until 1839, when the "headland theory" was revived and some seizures of our vessels were made. Controversy and correspondence ensued, which went on with the usual accompaniments of seizures and withdrawals on the part of England and renewals of interference until 1851, when England sent out a naval force and Webster declared in a speech that the Government would protect the fishermen, "hook and line and bob and sinker." Then an effort at settlement was made, and the arbitrator decided in favor of the American view as to the Bay of Fundy. This did not suit the English policy which, instigated by Canada, had aimed steadily in all this wrangling at mercantile concessions. Accordingly Lord Elgin came to Wash-

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ington, and succeeded, much to his credit, and very little to ours, in negotiating a "reciprocity treaty." Thus Canada had her way, and all was quiet until 1865, when the treaty of 1854 was abrogated and the contention was renewed. Various temporary expedients were tried, and at last the Governor-General of Canada issued an order for the seizure of all American vessels fishing in Canadian waters. General Grant, who had a keen sense of American rights, and was neither feeble nor timid, sent in a message to Congress advising retaliation, which had a wholesome effect. The fishery question, however, was drawn into the Alabama negotiations and settled in the manner so disadvantageous to us which is fresh in every one's memory. The abrogation of the treaty of Washington has brought on the old contention, and the old attempt is being made to bully us into granting commercial concessions by harassing our fishermen.

Rumor has it now that the headland theory has been revived by England in the present negotiations, supplemented by some equally reasonable claims as to pilotage, and it is also rumored that she will propose to refer this doctrine, as well as our commercial rights, to arbitration. There is nothing incredible in this report, for the studied mildness of our own government must be an irresistible temptation to vigorous opponents to advance every claim they can devise, no matter how preposterous such claim may be.

Meantime international relations in general have advanced and improved with the progress of civilization since 1818. In 1822 we extended to the world the principles of maritime reciprocity, which were adopted by Great Britain in 1830. At that time the United States and England dropped their non-intercourse laws as to British North America and all other of their possessions, as was duly set forth in the proclamations issued by President Jackson and William IV. Under these principles of reciprocity have grown up what are commonly known as commercial privileges, which belong to vessels of all nations, and which allow the vessels of all nations to enter foreign ports in order to obtain supplies and engage in trade. These privileges, in a word, have become part of the international comity of the world, and are never questioned or denied except in time of war. By universal consent these privileges, unknown at the period of the treaty of 1818, were held in practice after 1830 to apply to fishermen, and

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have been enjoyed by the fishermen of Canada and the United States, without let or hindrance, from 1830 until the beginning of the present difficulties.

Having thus determined the general commercial privileges accorded to fishermen of the United States under the proclamations of 1830 and the rights granted them by the treaty of 1818, let us glance at some of the cases of seizure and interference on the part of Canada within the past two years:

"In May, 1886, the schooner 'David J. Adams,' of Gloucester, in a landlocked Nova Scotia harbor, where no intention of fishing could well be imagined, was seized by the cruiser 'Lansdowne,' taken from Nova Scotia to St. John, N. B., and, without explanation or hearing, taken back again by an armed crew to Digby, N. S., where a paper alleged to be the legal precept for the capture and detention of the vessel was nailed to her mast in such manner as to prevent its contents being read, and the request of the captain of the 'Adams' to be allowed to detach the writ from the mast for the purpose of reading its contents was positively refused by the provincial official in charge.

"June 2, 1886, the Dominion authorities threatened to seize American boats if they bought herring for canning.

"June, 1886, the Collector at St. Andrews, N. B., refused to allow the schooner 'Annie M. Jordan,' of Gloucester, to enter at that port, although she was properly documented as a fishing vessel, with permission to touch and trade at any foreign port during her voyage.

"June, 1886, four Gloucester vessels, the 'Martha A. Bradley,' 'Rattler,' 'Eliza Boynton' and 'Pioneer,' were warned by the Collector, at Canso, to keep outside an imaginary line, three miles outside Canso head to Point Esprit, a distance of 40 miles, this line being from 12 to 25 miles from the coast. At Prince Edward Island they were warned in a similar fashion. They were also told that they could not enter Bay Chaleur.

"June, 1886, the schooner 'City Point,' of Portland, Me., arrived at Shelburne, N. S., landed two men, obtained water, and was detained by the authorities.

"July, 1886, two American schooners visiting St. Andrews, N. B., for the purpose of purchasing herring for canning, were driven away by the cruiser 'Middleton.'

"July, 1886, the American steamer 'Novelty,' at Pictou, N. S., was denied the right to take in steam coal or purchase ice or tranship fish in bond to the United States, and she was compelled to leave without being allowed to obtain fuel necessary for her lawful voyage on a dangerous coast.

"July, 1886, the American fishing vessel 'Thomas F. Bayard,' at Bonne Bay, N. F., was threatened with seizure if she entered the port to obtain bait, or for any other transaction connected with fishery. The 'Bayard' broke up her voyage and returned home. The schooner 'Amherst' was similarly treated at Port Amherst, Magdalen Islands, and she was further threatened with seizure if she took a pilot.

"August, 1886, the 'Rattler,' of Gloucester, driven by stress of weather to Shelburne harbor, anchored in the stream just inside the harbor's entrance, where she was boarded by an officer of the Canadian cutter 'Terror,' who placed two men on board. When the storm ceased, the 'Rattler' weighed anchor to proceed home;

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the two men from the 'Terror' discharged their pistols as a signal. The vessel was again boarded and threatened with seizure unless the captain reported at the custom house.

"August, 1886, the schooners 'Shiloh,' and 'Julia Ellen,' entering the harbor of Liverpool, N. S., were met by the cruiser 'Terror,' who fired across their bows and placed two armed men on board each vessel until they left the harbor.

"September, 1886, the 'Mollie Adams,' of Gloucester, put into Port Mulgrave, N. S. The vessel's water-tank had burst in the heavy weather and was rendered useless. The captain asked permission to purchase two or three barrels of water for his crew on their voyage home, about 500 miles. He was refused, and his vessel threatened with seizure if he bought the water. He had to put to sea without it, and in trying to enter another port for the same purpose a severe gale swept away his deck-load of fish and destroyed two seine boats.

"September, 1886, the schooner 'A. R. Crittenden' was denied the right to purchase water at Steep Creek, and the crew had to be put on short allowance during the voyage home.

"October, 1886, the 'Pearl Nelson,' of Provincetown, Mass., was driven by stress of weather into the harbor of Arichat, N. S., arriving late at night, when the custom-house was closed. Before the custom-house was opened next day the captain went there, and after waiting over an hour for the collector to arrive, he made his usual inward report, and asked permission to land the clothing of a sailor who had been lost overboard, and whose family resided in the vicinity. The captain was calmly informed that his vessel had been seized for allowing his crew to go ashore the night before, *before reporting at the custom-house!*

"November, 1886, the 'Mollie Adams,' of Gloucester, rescued the crew of a wrecked Nova Scotia vessel. The captain shared his purse and his slender stock of provisions with the men he had saved, and thereby ran short of food. He put into Port Medway and asked permission to purchase half a barrel of flour, or enough provisions to take his vessel and crew home. He was threatened with the seizure of his vessel 'if he bought anything whatever.' He put to sea, and made for Gloucester. On the home run his crew were short of rations for two days, and one day they were without food of any description."

What indication is there here that our fishermen have transcended any of the usual restrictions placed upon vessels to which commercial privileges are accorded? In these cases they have not even broken, except by the most forced construction in one or two instances, the provisions of the treaty of 1818, which expressly gives the right to enter for "shelter, repairs, wood, and water." They have not even had their rights under that treaty, but have been interfered with on the ground of a violation of certain arbitrary and wholly illegal regulations set up by Canada as an excuse for harassing the American fisheries.

Is it not clear to every one who takes the trouble to read these cases that they arose from no real infringements on our part of the treaty of 1818? Are there in any of these cases complicated questions of doubtful treaty constructions or of fishing rights?

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Are they not, in a word, plain and sometimes brutal violations by Canada and England of the ordinary comity of nations, of common commercial privileges, and, in some instances, of the universal rights of humanity? The purpose of such high-handed action is sufficiently plain. In the words of General Cogswell, the very able representative of the Gloucester district, to whose investigations and speeches I am largely indebted: "That Great Britain pursues her present policy as of right, I have too much respect for her intelligence to believe; that she pursues it in order that she may build up the fishing industry in her own provinces; that she pursues it in order to force her fish into our ports free of duty, in order to hamper our own industry, in order to cripple our militia of the seas, and that she may raise recruits for her navy, by which she proudly boasts, 'Britannia rules the waves,' I most certainly believe. She pursues it, too, in violation of our sacred rights and privileges." The discussion and talk about fishermen's rights and three-mile limits have been stirred up merely to becloud the true issue and make the people of the United States believe that the whole thing is a technical dispute among contentious fishermen about small technical privileges. As a matter of fact, when the question is stripped of all disguises, it is perfectly simple and involves the ordinary rights of every man who goes to a foreign port on a vessel protected by the flag of the United States.

What is the remedy for such a disgraceful state of things? The country, speaking through the last Congress, said: "Retaliate;" and a resolution was passed authorizing the President to close our ports to Canadian vessels. This was the obvious, proper and dignified course, but the resolution has remained a dead letter. The administration, having seen a treaty rejected almost unanimously by the Senate, and having watched these outrages in silence and learned the opinion of the country, has now embarked on a commission to arbitrate, which nobody wanted and which nobody believes in. They discovered, after appointing commissioners, that they had no power to settle and determine these questions by commissioners, and in order to conform to the constitution, the country has been given to understand that this is a negotiation. But a change of names does not alter the intention and policy of the Government to bring about a joint arbitration, and the fundamental trouble with the scheme is that

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there is nothing susceptible of arbitration, and nothing to arbitrate about. No man of courage and self-respect agrees to leave it to arbitrators to determine whether his neighbor can roll him in the gutter, if he is so minded, nor does he call in his friends to make a treaty with an opponent who has caught him by the throat. On the contrary, he retaliates sharply and effectively, and when the normal equilibrium is restored, he is ready for arbitration and not before. If Spain came to the conclusion that she would like to have our tobacco duties removed, and were to seize all our vessels going to Cuba, insult our flag, and close Cuban ports to our merchants, does any one suppose that we should invite Spanish commissioners to Washington to arbitrate? No one would dare to suggest it. Yet the position of this Canadian question is precisely the same as this supposed case. All the talk about fishermen's rights and the treaty of 1818, as has been said, is a mere blind to cover the real purpose of Canada. Give our fishermen the ordinary commercial privileges, renew to them the universal comity of nations, and the "fishery question" could be very quickly settled, either with or without commissioners.

There is no reason to blame England and Canada for their course. If they are able to get what they want by harassing our fishermen, invading our commercial privileges and violating the commonest principles of maritime reciprocity, they would be more scrupulous than is their habit if they failed to avail themselves of the opportunity. But what shall be said of our own Government, whose policy makes such actions possible? The administration "peak like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of their cause, and can say nothing," when even political expediency would seem to render such a weak attitude obviously and utterly undesirable. We have made our blunders in the past, like other people, but never before have we needlessly and feebly succumbed to the menaces and attacks of a British province.

Thus far the case has been recited in its simplest and broadest way as affecting the dignity and honor of the whole United States, for commercial privileges are common to the entire nation, and if touched at one point are touched at all. But there is another side to the matter which concerns those who are immediately affected. The direct result of the Canadian measures has been to cripple and injure the fishing interests. They have

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enhanced the difficulties and risks of an honorable and manly calling, which is in its nature sufficiently perilous without artificial troubles and dangers. The particular friends of the administration, in their ardent zeal, have undertaken in the last few months to belittle the fisheries, but the industry is not one that can be lightly passed over. The fisheries of the United States, according to the census of 1880, employed 130,000 men and 6,605 vessels, and represented a capital of $37,995,340. This includes, of course, the very important fisheries of the great lakes, which are as open to incursion by Canada as those of the Eastern States. The New England fisheries, which are chiefly involved in this contest, employed in 1880, 37,043 men, 2,066 vessels, 14,787 boats, and yield an annual product of $14,270,393. The amount of food-fish landed in Gloucester in 1886 was 459,759 barrels. An industry which supports in one section of the country alone some 150,000 people, and which furnishes a large part of a most important article of food, cannot be neglected or overlooked, and when it is remembered that we must turn to that industry for sailors to man our ships in time of war, it has a right to demand not only the protection, but the fostering care of the Government.

Another of the highly creditable arguments advanced by the defenders of the administration is that most of the men engaged in these fisheries are aliens. It might be deemed a sufficient answer to say that these eager champions overlook the somewhat important fact that, even if the fishermen are aliens, they are covered by the American flag, and have a right to its protection. But we can afford to take the argument as it stands. Colonel Wright, in his statistical report of 1886 on the fisheries of Massachusetts, gives the number of native born Americans as 60 per cent. of all persons employed in the fisheries, and the resident fishermen as 76 per cent. To the 60 per cent. of native born fishermen must, of course, be added the natives of other countries who have been naturalized in order to determine the question of citizenship, and it is easy to see from these very recent figures, which will apply equally to all the New England States, how unfounded is the charge that our fishermen are aliens. General Cogswell, who has investigated the point with care, estimates the aliens on the fishing vessels of New England at 12 per cent. of the whole number employed, and even Mr. Manning, when Secretary of the Treasury, admitted that 78 per cent. were

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American citizens. There are certainly enough Americans here entitled on the ground of citizenship to the protection of this government.

The more violent organs of the administration, however, are not content even with this. Very recently one of them gave utterance to this lofty and patriotic sentiment:

> "It would be better to buy them out (the Yankee fishermen) and set them up in some other business to keep them quiet than to be kept in a turmoil over their wretched fuss. The only way is for the Government to go serenely along and determine its policy according to the interests of the whole country, and leave the Gloucester fishermen to find out that their whining is uncalled for."

The sentence reads as if it had been taken from some English newspaper before the war of the rebellion, but as a matter of fact it is quoted from the New York *Times*. The same journal celebrated last Christmas, probably in the interests of peace on earth and good will among men, by a long and scurrilously abusive article about the Gloucester fishermen, winding up with the statement that they were all aliens—an absolute falsehood, as has just been shown. It is almost incredible that any American editor could say such things of any class of his countrymen; and it only shows how far people can be carried by personal politics and by partisan rancor. When Glover's regiments of Marblehead fishermen ferried Washington's army across the Delaware and marched upon Trenton on a certain bitter December night, nobody thought they "whined." Nor did any one find it convenient or apposite to accuse the New England fishermen of "whining" when they manned our ships and shed their blood both on deck and battlefield in the war of the rebellion. They are now, as they were then, a bold and hardy race of men. They do not whine, but they demand, plainly and firmly, that their Government should protect them in those rights which they share in common with all their countrymen. They are not making a "fuss" about the "three-mile" limit or any other small point. They can get all the fishing they want outside that limit, and are quite able to meet all fair competition; but they feel that they are entitled to the ordinary commercial privileges, and that they should not be debarred from them because Canada requires a lever to compel us to make a reciprocity treaty or to alter our tariff.

The fact that they are few in number compared to the whole body of the people does not touch the question in the least. Gov-

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ernor Andrew once said, "I know not what sins the recording angel may set down against me in the next world, but this I know, I have never turned my back on any man because he was poor, or because he was ignorant, or because he was black." The same doctrine holds good with nations. No self-respecting nation can afford to turn its back, not merely upon a vigorous and intelligent body of men like our fishermen, but upon the humblest of its citizens, and there is no surer test of national greatness than the care with which the safety of each individual member of the community is watched over and guarded. It was the greatest glory of Rome in ancient times, it has been one of the chief glories of England in our own time, that no risk and no expense were to be considered in defending in all his rights and wherever he might be every man who was honestly entitled to the Roman or the English name. We have a greater empire than either Rome or England, and we cannot be too jealous of the lives and safety of our citizens. The case of one man to-day seems distant and unimportant, but it may be the case of any one of us to-morrow. This protection to citizens of the republic engaged in a lawful calling is what underlies our dispute with England and Canada to-day. It is something vastly more vital than the three-mile limit or free fish or reciprocity treaties. It is the question of the defense of the rights of American citizens which have been interfered with in contravention of all commercial privileges and all the rules of international comity. It is as near and as important to the citizen of California or Illinois or Florida as it is to the Gloucester fishermen, for if the fishermen can be attacked with impunity by Great Britain some other nation may see fit to treat in like fashion the people of any other part of the country.

The ultimate solution of all these recurring troubles with Canada will be found, no doubt, in union with the United States. Such an outcome will benefit both sides, but Canada far more than us. We can afford to bide our time and await the inevitable result of the laws of political, financial, and social gravitation, for it is a case of manifest destiny. Meanwhile, American citizens must be protected, and when that is done, and not before, we can arbitrate and make treaties with our neighbors if we choose. As Washington said a hundred years ago, "Whenever we shall have an efficient government established, that government will surely impose retaliating restrictions, to a certain degree, upon the trade of Britain."

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

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THE WONDERS OF ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

ANIMAL magnetism, better known since the researches of Braid as *Hypnotism,* has had varied fortunes during the lapse of ages, being in turn made much of or neglected. Meeting all sorts of vicissitudes, according to the attitude assumed toward it by the prevailing medical opinion, it quitted the obscurity and darkness that encompassed it only after science had begun to employ the experimental method, which to-day is everywhere in use. Braid and Charcot have contributed most to give it a *status,* bringing it by force, so to speak, within the domain of science, which before it had not entered.

For hypnotism is not a thing of yesterday; and without dwelling unduly upon its history, I would observe that the phenomena of the hypnotic series not only have existed, but have been noticed from the earliest times. It is enough to cite the practices still in use in Egypt and India, the lands of immemorial traditions, in order to show that our proposition is firmly based.

Still its history has little to interest us till the close of the eighteenth Century, and the metaphysical dissertations of Paracelsus, Burgravius and Van Helmont upon the *vis magnetica*—hence the term animal *magnetism*—helped far less toward its propagation than did the exorcisms of the thaumaturgus Gassner, that illuminist priest who, albeit he attempted no theories, produced the trance state in the crowds of people who flocked to him.

It was reserved for Mesmer to publish to the world a very ancient discovery, the credit of making which he claimed for himself. His aim was in no sense scientific, for he sought only fame, and above all, wealth. With the effrontery that never failed him, Mesmer ignored the labors of all his predecessors, and posing as a discoverer, propounded in 1776 his famous "Propositions," which were destined to serve as a text-book for many generations of magnetizers.

Mesmer's theories were so obscure, and the effects produced

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so hard to analyze, that his disciples began to study them. One of his followers, the Marquis de Puységur, a sagacious and conscientious observer, discovered in 1784 artificial or induced somnambulism, and through his study of this phenomenon reached other results of high importance. Under the influence of Puységur's researches curiosity was awakened, and animal magnetism societies, styled *Harmonies*, were multiplied in France, Germany, and Russia, and the polemics of Father Faria, a Portuguese priest, who came to Paris from India, were noised throughout the world.

These societies, broken up during the wars of the first French Empire, were reconstituted at the Bourbon restoration. Then came the period of academic discussions, in which the *savants*, departing from the principles of conduct so wisely followed by Bailly, Secretary of the Commission appointed by Louis XVI. to investigate magnetism, by turns rejected or admitted (always with the same passion and prejudice) phenomena with regard to which partisans and opponents alike were but little eager for illumination. Aside from Puységur's discovery, Bailly's Report to the Academy (1784), the studies of Pétetin of Lyons upon catalepsy (1787) and the researches of Father Faria (1819), we may say that the whole period from 1766 to 1843 is almost entirely void of scientific interest. To a British surgeon, James Braid, it fell, as we have already said, in the year last mentioned, to lay the foundations upon which in 1878 Charcot was to build up the scientific theory of hypnotism.

In 1841 Braid first undertook to repeat the experiments of a French magnetizer, Lafontaine, of which he had read an account. His first impressions, it must be remarked, were entirely unfavorable. What he had seen or read could not overcome his skepticism, and he still regarded the phenomena produced by hypnotization as due to secret connivance or to illusion. His determination to unmask fraud led him to discover the truth. He went to work, and soon perceived that he had to bow before the reality of the facts; two years later he published his *Neurypnology*, a very remarkable work, in which we find many striking truths formulated, though unfortunately in his interpretation of them the author betrays too often the bias of his mind for phrenology. But Braid's work had no such success as it deserved, and the articles "Sleep" in Todd's Encyclopædia, and "Hypnotism" in Nysten's Dictionary were almost the only scientific echoes of the

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Neurypnology. In 1860 Professor Azam, of Bordeaux, made the book known in France, where it was received with absolute indifference.

It remained for Professor Charcot, whose profound knowledge of the diseases of the nervous system had qualified him for these difficult studies, to make of hypnotism an actual science; and in 1878 began, at La Salpétrière, that memorable series of lectures which was destined to give a new impulse to the study of hypnotic phenomena. Charcot took a ground quite different from that of his predecessors. Instead of devoting himself to the study of the less usual phenomena as others had done, especially before Braid's time, he was of the opinion that he could better promote the interest of science by making it his especial aim to determine the *physical* diagnostic signs, which are easily recognized, of the different hypnotic states, confining himself at first to the strict interpretation of the simplest facts, advancing slowly but surely, and never giving up the study of a phenomenon till he had discovered the connection between it and other phenomena that he had previously interpreted. Further, believing that the subjects of hysteria present in the highest degree all the indications of what he called the greater hypnotism, he took them exclusively as the basis of his description, thus drawing his conclusions from the simple to the complex. This natural method soon yielded results of the highest importance. An impulse having been thus given to the study of hypnotism, researches were multiplied, and now we propose to set forth the teachings of Professor Charcot and of his school, to which we have the honor to belong.

But before we describe the phenomena of the hypnotic state, it is well to premise some remarks upon the susceptibilty of different individuals to hypnotic manipulation. Not all persons are capable of being hypnotized. As was well proved by Faria in the beginning of the present century, the hypnotizer possesses no special power of his own enabling him, as the phrase then was, to communicate his fluid to those with whom he experiments; in his own temperament does the individual find the conditions of the phenomena he presents under hypnotization. The story that is told of Braid's servant illustrates this point very well. This servant was directed by his master to fix his gaze upon a shining object, at the same time being told that upon the steadiness with which he kept his eyes upon it depended the success of a chemical

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operation Braid was at the time performing. The man was then left alone; Braid, on returning to the room two minutes and a half later, found him asleep.

Persons of a nervous constitution, and in particular those subject to hysteria, are most apt to fall into artificial sleep. There is then produced in them a peculiar neurosis, hypnotism, having psychical and physical characters of its own,—a genuine disease presenting a diversity of symptoms. Hence hypnotic phenomena ought not to be called forth rashly, nor without the precautions suggested by medical science. Women are specially susceptible to hypnotic manipulation, particularly during the period between the eighteenth and the thirtieth year, when the nervous system is in full activity. Young men may be hypnotized; but it is very difficult to produce hypnotic sleep in old men or in children. Persons who in early life are subject to natural somnambulism or sleep walking, are later in life good hypnotic subjects, just as they are also likely to be victims of hysteria and other nervous complaints.

Many are the processes employed for producing hypnosis. One that is very frequently used consists in fixing the gaze upon some bright object placed a little above the eyes and in front of the median line of the forehead, so that visual fatigue may ensue quickly, the eyeballs being directed upward and inward.

This process, or others of a like kind, may be employed in the case of persons who have never before been hypnotized. But after a while, when the subject has, so to speak, been educated, various more expeditious methods may be employed. Thus a jet of electric light, or a violent blow struck on a gong near the ear of the subject will quickly induce sleep. Again, in hypnotizable persons, the surface of the body often presents special points—"hypnogenic zones," as they are called, analogous to the "hysterogenic zones." Simple pressure upon these produces hypnosis.

Even in the case of the most susceptible individuals rarely does sleep appear when they, for the first time, undergo the hypnotizing manipulations, however skilled the operater may be. There is needed a complete surrender of one's will, and absence of all mental preoccupation, and on the part of the company present absolute silence. In most cases exhibitions of hypnotization develop, at first, only vague phenomena not easily classified, foreshadowings, so to speak, of what will follow later.

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In order to bring what we have to say on the vast subject of hypnotism within the limits assigned for this article, we will not treat here at all of these phenomena of imperfect hypnotization, but will describe only the effects produced upon a subject that has already often been hypnotized, who quickly falls asleep, and who passes through the different stages of hypnosis at the will of the operator. These phenomena belong especially to what is called by Mr. Charcot the "greater hypnotism," we shall also have something to say of what he called the "lesser hypnotism."

The phenomena of the hypnotic series have been divided into three typical states, to which Charcot gives the names of *Lethargy, Catalepsy* and *Somnambulism.* These words were in use long before his day, but he has fixed their meaning as technical terms. The chronological development of these three states differs according to individuals; nevertheless, when a person undergoes again and again the same process of hypnotization, the catalepsy generally comes first. Suppose, then, that we have before us an individual who has often been hypnotized. We hold before his eyes, at the distance of a few centimetres, some shining object, for example, the bulb of a mercury thermometer, and he is told to fix his gaze upon it steadily. On withdrawing the object after a few seconds, or after a few minutes—it all depends on the individual's susceptibility—we find him motionless, his eyes wide open and still fixed on the place where the object was held, and indifferent, at least apparently so, to everything about him. Raise one of his arms, and it remains in whatever posture you give it; the joints are exceedingly supple, presenting the *flexibilitas cerea* so favorable to the production of the most varied artistic poses. Meanwhile the pulse grows less frequent and the respiration becomes superficial; further, the subject is completely insensible. He may be pricked with a pin, or a live coal may touch his skin, but he has no consciousness of it; and the same is to be said of the other hypnotic states. Finally, he readily adopts suggestions, as we shall see later. The subject can be kept in this state for some time, a quarter of an hour, half an hour, or longer; but of all the hypnotic states the catalepsy is the one that ought not to be prolonged, for it produces considerable fatigue; the countenance becomes flushed, tears flow from the eyes on account of the fixed position of the eyelids.

To awaken the subject is easy in the catalepsy as in the other

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states. This is done by blowing gently on the eyes of the subject. He comes out of his sleep somewhat dazed, but without any feeling of suffering, nor has he any recollection whatever of what occurred during the hypnosis.

To produce the lethargy, it suffices either to keep the shining object a little longer before the eyes of the subject or to close the cataleptic's eyelids with the fingers. In the former case, the eyelids are soon seen to grow heavy and to fall little by little till they are fully closed. Commonly the subject passes into the state of sleep while performing the movements of deglutition, accompanied by a slight noise in the pharynx. He is then completely helpless, in the profoundest sleep, and were he standing when the lethargy came on he would fall to the ground like an inert mass.

A veritable *cadaver* he is now, but in appearance only, for the vegetative functions go on as before. He is insensible to all excitations, however powerful, however painful. His intelligence, too, is completely in abeyance; he makes no response to any question; he is sunk in the profoundest coma. While this state continues—and in the preceding state as well—the subject is absolutely at the mercy of the magnetizer, who can make him do whatever he will.

Of all the hypnotic states the lethargy is the one in which the subject may continue longest with impunity. To prevent a threatened attack of hysteria we often allow women to remain in the lethargic state upward of twelve hours; in that case the awakening is a little more difficult to bring about than usual. But if left to take its course, the lethargy, as well as the catalepsy, does not continue indefinitely, for the awakening comes after a period that varies in length up to twenty hours; but the subject should never be left unattended, for fear of accidents.

The lethargic subject presents one highly important physical phenomenon, first studied by Mr. Charcot; a knowledge of this is necessary, especially in order to detect simulation. When we press on a muscle, it immediately contracts, thereby producing the movement special to it. Pressure on the biceps brachialis, for instance, causes flexure of the forearm upon the upper arm. So, too, if we press upon a superficial nerve we produce a corresponding contraction in the muscle to which it belongs. The contraction is very strong; the muscles are rigid, tense; they would break rather than give way. Nevertheless, this contraction readily dis-

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appears without leaving a trace of its presence, if we act gently on the muscles antagonistic to those that are contracted—for instance, on the extensor muscles of the fingers when the flexor muscles are in contraction. These phenomena of neuro-muscular super-excitation are, we repeat, of the highest importance for the diagnosis of the hypnotic state; they are comparable to the "diathesis of contraction"—the special faculty possessed by the muscles of performing a determinate action under the influence of the slightest excitation, or even spontaneously—which, as Mr. Charcot has proved, is one of the characters of hysteria. Here is one of the points of contact between the two neuroses, the hysterical and the hypnotic.

The somnambulic state is more difficult to produce in the first instance than either of the others. It is most commonly brought about by transforming one of the other states. In that case we have simply to practice a slight friction on the top of the head, either with the palm of the hand or with the tips of the fingers. Needless to say, this "reflex action of the vertex" has as yet found no explication in the data of physiology; it is simply a clinical fact, a fact of observation.

If, for instance, you rub gently the vertex of a lethargic, you immediately notice a change. The patient usually utters a low sigh, that being, so to speak, the token of his return to the outer life, if not of his regaining full possession of himself; for in the majority of cases his brain becomes like a tablet of soft wax on which is to be impressed instantaneously every suggestion that comes from the operator.

Before we study these "suggestions" be it remarked that in the somnambulic subject the neuro-muscular super-excitability still continues, but it is transformed.

It is no longer strong pressures, or malaxation of muscles, nor compression of nerves that call it into play; on the contrary, superficial, cutaneous excitation seems now to be the most powerful in determining contraction in the subjacent muscles. By merely grazing the skin, or displacing the surrounding air by waving the hand over a muscle, contraction is produced. This contraction is made to cease just as in the case of the lethargic contraction, by acting gently upon the antagonist muscles.

But in the somnambulist all the sensations, all the senses seem to be exalted to the highest degree, though in the latent

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state. Let us explain. There are two kinds of somnambulists—those that are quiet and those that are excited: on the one hand, those whose eyes, while they are in the somnambulic state, are shut; on the other, those whose eyes are open. It follows that the somnambulist whose eyes remain open becomes, according to the mental state proper to him, the subject of a host of sensorial illusions produced by the sight of the different objects around him; while the other, whose eyes are shut, remains calm and motionless on the spot where the somnambulism came upon him.

Both, however, present one singular mental peculiarity, being, with few exceptions, in a very high degree "suggestible"—that is to say, their brain lends itself with a complaisance that is astonishing to the carrying out of all the orders, all the suggestions that come from the operator.

The study of these suggestions is of the highest importance in considering the subject of hypnotism; it is the one phase that has been most thoroughly discussed and most profoundly analyzed, hence we must here enter on some details.

In ordinary life we see individuals who show a surprising readiness to adopt the opinions, the ways of thinking of certain other persons; the latter thus, so to speak, become the masters of their personality. In the somnambulist this lack of brain resistance, this mental passivity becomes enormously exaggerated; his brain becomes, as it were, a plastic mass, which the one who has put him to sleep molds as he pleases. We say "the one who has put him to sleep," for it is a fact long since demonstrated, that the somnambulist obeys only the person who has put him in the somnambulic state, and who thereby has taken possession of his ego; he is perfectly insensible to all injunctions coming from a third person, but his will is absolutely subject to that of his hypnotizer.

In this way a great variety of suggestions can be produced, not only in the brain properly so called, but in all the special senses. Presenting to a somnambulist a leaf of paper perfectly white, I say to him, "Here is a photograph of me." He immediately sees my portrait on that paper—sees it so plainly, so truly, that if I shuffle that particular leaf with any number of leaves exactly like it, he will readily recognize and pick out the one upon which his brain shall, in accordance with my assertion, have impressed my photographic image. So, too, with regard to hearing or to taste: we may cause the somnambulist to hear a concert of har-

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monious sounds where absolute silence reigns; we can make him drink the bitterest liquids, which he shall deem to be delightful beverage. The sensibility, both general and special, is also lulled to sleep in somnambulists, at least in those that keep the eyes closed; but when by a definite excitation or suggestion the operator has summoned that sensibility to quit the apparent apathy in which it is sunk, the awakening is comparable to an explosion. The subject's acuteness of sight and of hearing is extraordinary; he will see and hear sights and sounds that he could hardly distinguish in the waking state, owing to their distance. This super-sensibility has given occasion to the belief in the power of somnambulists to see objects at enormous distances, or through opaque bodies, and the like. The truth is, that in the somnambulist every sense is exalted, and the same holds good as to his muscular strength. We have spoken of the strong hold the magnetizer has on the subject. Well, let the subject be a woman possessing as little physical strength as may be. Let several persons stand between her and the operator, and let him summon her to come to him. She will struggle with them if they oppose her movement, and in doing so will display a surprising degree of strength.

This leads us to treat of suggestions of acts to be performed by the subject. These suggestions, of course, are various, and may be highly complex. For example, we order a somnambulist to go and steal the watch of some one in the company, and to bring it to us. The suggestion is *adopted*—for the subject is not simply a mere automaton, a passive creature: on the contrary, he reasons out perfectly the suggestion conveyed to him. Often he is unable to resist it, but again sometimes he positively refuses to accept the suggestion, especially when it goes very strongly counter to his habitual sense of honesty, of modesty, etc. But suppose he accepts it, still he does not execute it automatically; he will employ, in executing it, all the resources of a mind more or less acute, ever guided by his own proper intelligence.

We cannot pursue further this study of the various suggestions that may be conveyed to the somnambulist; their great diversity defies description or analysis. Still we must dwell for a moment upon the subject of criminal suggestions, for that has been agitating the public mind for some time. On this point some writers have brought forward theories which, however log-

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ical, are contradicted by the facts of observation. The somnambulist, it has been said, may become the trusty instrument of others' vengeance; for, as we see in the laboratory experiments, the operator can place a weapon in his hand and make him do the act of assassination,—the dumb show of assassination, that is to say, for the pistol is not loaded, and only in the imagination of the somnambulist is a shot fired. But account has to be taken of circumstances, of the subject's resistance already spoken of, and of the many difficulties that in ordinary life attend the execution of such suggestions. Minute analysis of the results of observation, in fact, shows that while the detection of rapes committed upon lethargic subjects is comparatively frequent, there is no case yet on record of the commission of a crime by a lethargic somnambulic subject acting under orders from a magnetizer.

This leads us to speak of the persistence of the suggestions. The somnambulist may execute the suggestion even after he has passed out of the somnambulic state. On awaking, though he may have forgotten everything except the order given him, and though he may not remember even the name of the "suggestor," he proceeds to carry out the suggestion, and that at the time fixed for it. After a couple of days, or a week, or a month or two, a thought that to him seems new will suddenly occur to him. We say "a thought that seems new to him," for the somnambulist, or, better, the one that has been "suggestioned" in the somnambulic state, is no madman, forever revolving a fixed idea; the thought occurs to him instantaneously, at a set time; it masters him wholly, and he must carry out the order at any cost, and carry it out he will, overcoming, as far as possible, all obstacles that may stand in his way. If the order be that he kill a man, he will do it openly, though the victim be hedged with policemen; he will on occasion use strategy, but his one purpose is to attain his end, whatever may happen. One who commits a crime under these conditions will speedily be arrested, and though he may have forgotten the name of the instigator to crime, it will be easy to discover the one who armed him for the deed. An ancient axiom says, *is fecit cui prodest;* nevertheless, the true criminal may escape the penalty of his act. After a pretty thorough search, however, we have found no record of crimes of this kind. The crime that may fairly be charged upon hypnotism is rape, and that is committed by the hypnotizer upon the hypnotized.

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Suggestion does not belong to the somnambulic state exclusively; probably it has a place also in the lethargic state. The subject has been as yet but little studied, but it is certain that suggestion can be conveyed in the catalepsy. Some of the cataleptics differ very little in this respect from the somnambulists; they are decidedly less quick to show emotion and more reluctant to accept suggestions, but these, once accepted, are executed all the more inevitably, all the more automatically. In this state it is, furthermore, possible to convey suggestions of a special character that possess a peculiar interest for the physiologist and the philosopher. First, there are *suggestions by gesture.* The cataleptic is a being that is motionless, expressionless. Now raise the arms so as to bring the outspread fingers in front of the mouth, as when one is sending a kiss; immediately the countenance assumes a smile, and the body is inclined forward—in short, the whole attitude is conformed to the supposed situation. The gesture has suggested the thought, but because of the automatism of the cataleptic state it persists: the cataleptic continues to smile, and would continue, so to speak, for an indefinite time, were the catalepsy to be protracted. If we change the position of the hands, and stretching one arm forward we bend the other, at the same time clinching the fists, the boxer's attitude is at once fully assumed, and the face reflects the thoughts of one who is actually defending himself against an antagonist. Of course these experiments may be varied *ad infinitum.*

But phenomena more interesting still may be produced. As is well known, the grand researches of Dr. Ducherme, of Boulogne, have enabled that great *savant* to determine with precision, by topical electrization, the physiology of the several muscles of the face, which control, usually in combination, the expression of the feelings. Take, for example, the pyramidal muscle of the nose—Ducherme's *muscle of aggression*—and excite this in a cataleptic subject by means of faradization. Immediately the muscle contracts, and the skin of the base of the nose is wrinkled transversely—purely a local effect of the electrization. But from habit, or perhaps in consequence of a training which has brought into association the cerebral functions and the action of the muscles which they control, the subject of the experiment assumes a special attitude, answering to the physiognomic expression produced by exciting the muscle of aggression. The fists

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become clinched, the body inclines forward, the general posture is that of a man about to fall upon an aggressor. By a complex operation the excitation of a special muscle has in this case suggested a special and correlated thought—the thought of self-defense; and the brain in its turn completes the series of acts. In this instance the thought of fighting arises and is carried out to its results in an order the reverse of that which is seen when the ordinary mechanism is at work.

This brief exposition of the facts shows what advantages are presented by hypnotism for the study of certain intricate problems of physiology; so, too, from the point of view of philosophy, hypnotism may be of very great service in explaining the very complex mechanism of thought.

Nor are these the only advantages derivable from hypnotism when the process is employed by experienced medical men. For ten years and more it has been found at La Salpétrière that the hypnotizing *séances*, oft repeated and methodically conducted, have in hysterical patients much diminished the frequency of the attacks. The benefit of hypotization may be still more direct, in that it is better to put an hysteric patient asleep than to allow a paroxysm to come on, with all its unpleasant consequences. But in such cases intervention has to come betimes, for once the paroxysm is on, the subject is no longer hypnotizable. When the hysteric patient is awakened after a certain time, she will have escaped the convulsions. Again, it is known that an hysteric seizure sometimes leaves behind, after it has passed away, certain complications that may become permanent affections of the nature of contractions or paralysis. Even where these complications exist, nay, especially where they exist, hypnotization may have the happiest effects. By calling into action the neuro-muscular super-excitability the lethargic patient is relieved of the contractions through excitation of the antagonist muscles. Finally, suggestion is of great avail in the special type of paralysis studied by Dr. Russell Reynolds. Suggestion may be effective even where the paralysis has continued for some time, and we have successfully treated cases of more than one year's standing.

Hypnotism in these cases plays the part of a medicinal agent, and as such it must be employed with the most scrupulous care. Now, facts prove how dangerous an agent it is in incompetent hands. We have seen many a proof of this, for, unfortunately,

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hypnotism seems now to have become public property, whereas it never ought to have been taken out of the domain of medicine. It must be remembered that in persons predisposed to hysteria hypnotism develops that disorder.

Hence we must condemn those mountebanks who, knowing nothing of medical science, and employing the most violent methods, go about magnetizing persons either so regardless of their own health, or so ignorant of the danger as to submit to such practices. Besides, some of those who witness such exhibitions begin to practice the hypnotic manipulations at home on those around them, and thus are created new foci of contagion. Instances without number might be cited to prove the mischief wrought by these amateur hypnotizers. Quite recently the Italian Government, on the advice of Professors Lombroso and Tommasi, interdicted the exhibitions given by one Donato, a magnetizer, who had made upwards of forty persons ill in Milan and in Turin. The governments of Austria and Germany had some time previously forbidden one Hansen to ply his dangerous trade within their borders. Herein those governments did but confirm the view expressed by James Esdaile in 1846: "Public opinion will suppress all those who practice hypnotism for any other purpose save medical utility or philosophical research."

The facts here set forth are beyond all question, but should any one still doubt their reality, to him we would say, in the words of Mr. Charcot: "In the presence of evident facts, the skepticism that claims to be scientific is but arbitrary skepticism."*

GILLES DE LA TOURETTE.

* This article has been read and approved by Prof. Charcot.

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THE GENIUS OF BATTLE.

SINCE History first began to make its record all the centuries have given to the world profound and eminent philosophers, statesmen, lawgivers, and mathematicians, but to none of them has the public voice ever affixed the title of *great*. That alone has been reserved for those who have won it by extraordinary success in leading armies in war. The reason for this is that the great captain combines all the talents and genius necessary to make men eminent in the other walks of life, and in addition he must possess rare powers of physical endurance and a personal courage which is exceptional in degree. To the profundity of the philosopher he must add the qualities of a statesman, as policy is an element which must enter into his plans for a campaign. A commonplace general may plan a campaign and select his time of operations and points of concentration, but there will be as wide a difference between his work and that of a great captain as between the rhymes of a village poet and the sentences of a Shakespeare. The genius of battle must have an eye which at once enables him to discover the key-point of a battle-field and the weak point of the enemy's position, not often the same, and to judge promptly and surely which is to be selected for the attack. He must have the unerring faculty to see and press every advantage of the battle-field and to repair every disaster.

There is another quality of genius on the battle-field which is of the greatest importance, and that is an intuitive knowledge as to when the commander must himself lead a column of his troops, and by his personal influence excite superhuman valor to win in an attack or make a victorious defense. The qualities of such a captain are so great and so numerous that the ordinary human intellect finds difficulties in its efforts to measure them—difficulties comparable only to those over which he stumbles in an attempt to comprehend the attributes of Divinity. Not every age brings forth a great captain, and the number which the world to-day

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can reckon may almost be counted upon the fingers of one hand. Among these Napoleon stands pre-eminent. His work is a study, requiring as long a time to master as he was in completing it. Up to the time of the general introduction of gunpowder as a force in war the intellect and personal courage of the leader went hand in hand, and both were in constant requisition during a battle. Since then the skill has been shown in the handling of masses before or during a conflict. The physical endurance is always needed, but the personal courage is seldom called into play with a leader of armies, except in some great crisis, when it should blaze forth like the electric light when the current is turned on the circuit. The constant and unnecessary exposure of a leader upon the battle-field is as faulty, in a military way, as the ignorance of when it is his duty to incur great danger to obtain a great end, for the fall of a leader is apt to demoralize the army and leave the threads loose which he held in his hand, and which might not be gathered up by the next in command before the occurrence of some grave disaster.

M. Thiers, in his "History of the French Revolution," summarizes the account of the brilliant campaign of 1796–1797 in Italy, and in one sentence gives the essence of military philosophy. He says: "When war is conducted as a purely mechanical routine, and consists in pushing and killing the enemy in front, it is hardly worthy of history; but when a conflict takes place in which a mass of men is moved by a single and vast intellect, which amid the lightning shock of battle has the same clearness and precision as that of a Newton or a Descartes in the silence of the closet, then the sight is worthy of the attention of the philosopher, as well as of the statesman and the soldier; and if the identification of the multitude with a single individual, which produces force in its highest degree, serves to protect, to defend a noble cause, that of liberty, then the scene has a grandeur in its moral as well as its other aspects."

War "conducted as a mechanical routine" was perfectly exhibited in the "Campaign of Attrition," inaugurated by General Grant on the 5th of May, 1864. The single and vast intellect which sways a mass, amid the roar of battle, with the serene precision with which the mind of a great philosopher works in the study, was intended to describe Napoleon, but is equally applicable to all great captains.

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The highest plane upon which such a man can stand is where his great powers are used in the cause of liberty. In modern history but one man stands on that elevation, and that man was Washington.

While to make a great captain all the mental and physical qualities must exist in the greatest possible strength, varieties of these in combination to a greater or less degree have been possessed by generals of less or greater repute in the world's history, and the number and intensity of these qualities in the combination gives the general his relative place in the list of great soldiers. Some generals are only brilliant upon the battle-field and some even only in particular phases of a battle, though they may possess certain qualities of a great leader to an extent which amounts in its way to an exhibition of genius as great as any great captain has ever shown. The particular quality which made Napoleon seize the colors and incite his troops to follow him at the bridge of Arcola, is well worthy of attention as being at times a most important factor in a battle. Alexander and Henry of Navarre were leaders whose personal power on the battle-field may be said to have directly influenced many of their victories. Many of Napoleon's lieutenants had this instinct of leadership; Lannes and Massena to an eminent degree. Washington showed it in the power of his personal presence to change a retreat into an attack, and Scott made a brilliant display of it at the battle of Lundy's Lane. The Civil War shows but little of this divine gift. General C. F. Smith may be said to have had the genius of battle highly developed in him, as was conspicuously shown at the battle of Fort Donelson. It is not always given to genius to succeed in these efforts. Napoleon failed at the bridge of Arcola, though it is possible that the desperate fighting around his person on the causeway kept the enemy closely employed until another force had taken the town in rear, and that, therefore, his act secured his great victory.

There is one instance of such leadership in our Civil War which is of great interest as a notable example of the display of this element of genius, and as showing the tremendous influence which is exercised upon the field of battle by such personal leadership, and its nearness in this case to the achievements of a brilliant victory. The leader referred to was Albert Sidney Johnston.

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It is evident from the history of the battle of Shiloh, on the 6th of April, 1862, that General Johnston had determined upon crushing the Federal left and securing the possession of Pittsburg Landing before the arrival of Buell's army. To insure this, after his final orders were given, he allowed his own left wing to take care of itself, and taking the personal command of the right, pursued his plan with marked persistency and success for some hours. He was finally checked at or near the "Hornet's Nest," and after two or three ineffectual efforts to drive the Federal troops from their position, he sent an order to Breckenridge to make an assault with all his strength. The aide returned to General Johnston with the answer from Breckenridge that his troops could not be induced to make the attack. As the aide began to give the message, General Johnston turned his head away, affecting not to hear, and said to the aide, "Go to General Breckenridge and tell him to make an assault at once." The officer went back to Breckenridge, whom he found pale from excitement and mortification, who again said that his troops would not follow him to the assault. When this last message was communicated to General Johnston he went to Breckenridge's troops, and placing himself at their head, gave the order to advance.

They then went forward with a rush, but General Johnston fell in the hour of his triumph. Under the impetus, however, of this wave of attack, the Federal division of Hurlbut melted away and the brigade of Stuart fell back and Prentiss was surrounded. A ripple of this wave was all that reached the left bank of Dill's Branch at a time when a few steady bayonets would have brushed away all resistance, checked Buell's junction, and left the Army of the Tennessee with hardly a possibility of escape, so near did the Federal army come that day to a crushing defeat. The plan of Johnston was admirable and was being brilliantly carried out; but when he fell his mantle descended upon no one worthy to have it, and the recall was sounded when fifteen minutes of bayonet work would have won the day.

"The race is not always to the swift," and a single well sped bullet may reach a life on which hang mighty interests.

W. F. Smith.

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WHY AM I A LUTHERAN?

THE question is not—Why did I become a Lutheran, rather than a Presbyterian, Methodist, or some other kind of Protestant Christian? To that question most of us now in any one of these so-called "orthodox evangelical denominations" would have to answer: I was born and brought up there. Providential orderings usually have most to do in fixing our lot religiously, as in other respects.

I was born of Lutheran parents, baptized by a Lutheran pastor, converted when at college, during a course of catechetical instruction conducted by a Lutheran minister, and very naturally found my way through the rite of confirmation, at fifteen years of age, into full communion with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the General Synod in this country.

But half a century has since elapsed and I am still a Lutheran. The Editor of the REVIEW asks me "Why?" To which I answer that, with ripening judgment and enlarged opportunities of observation, I have ever found increasing cause for gratitude to God for casting my lot as He did in the bosom of the Lutheran church. The more I learn of her character and history the greater reason I find for self-congratulation upon having been from early childhood identified with what I now regard as the very best form of Evangelical Protestant Christianity.

But Lutheranism is not everywhere the same. And in our own country, where not only the various types of European Lutheranism are largely represented, with their national peculiarities and cherished traditional customs, but where also an Americanized form of Lutheranism has firmly established itself—especially here does the Lutheran Church present to the view of other denominations the appearance of a discordant and heterogeneous mixture. But this diversity is more apparent than real. Amid this Babel of languages—for our church preaches the gospel here in English, German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic,

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and Finnish—and this commixture of European and American nationalities, there is an underlying harmony that unifies it all. These are all (with the exception of some so-called Lutheran congregations of foreigners in our large cities that have nothing of Lutheranism about them except the name) essentially one in doctrine and practice, with the same earnest, anti-papal, truly evangelical Protestant spirit, clinging tenaciously to the same great principles that gave birth to the Reformation, and to which genuine Protestanism in all its forms still owes its vitality.

The answer to the Editor's question would therefore be in substance the same, coming from any part of the Lutheran Church. I propose to reply to it as a representative of the General Synod, the oldest general organization of our Church in this country, which, although rent asunder by the war of the slave-holders' rebellion, and now composed of only such synods as were always loyal to the Union, still numbers 910 ministers, 1,449 churches, and 138,988 communicant members. It has under its influence the oldest literary and theological institutions, and is most active in the work of home and foreign missions.

I love and am proud of the Lutheran Church as a whole, and more particularly as she is represented in the General Synod in this country. My reasons are :

I.—HER DOCTRINAL POSITION.

This is the main thing. All else is of comparatively little importance. I understand the Lutheran Church to be soundly scriptural in doctrine. She bows submissively and unconditionally to the divine word. She had her birth in a solemn appeal to the Holy Scriptures as over against all human authority in matters of faith. Her attitude from the first has been that of Luther at the Diet of Worms, with his hand upon the Bible, bidding defiance to popes and councils and every extra-scriptural authority.

The Formula of Concord, the latest among our confessional writings, after enumerating those already published, expressly declares that : " The Holy Scriptures alone remain the only judge, rule and standard, according to which, as the only test-stone, all dogmas should, and must be, discerned and judged, as to whether they be good or evil, right or wrong. But the other symbols and writings cited are not judges, as are the Holy Scriptures, but only

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a witness and declaration of the faith, as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained in the articles in controversy in the Church of God by those who then lived, and how the opposite dogma was rejected and condemned."

And the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the oldest of our American Lutheran Synods, in 1853, after enjoining it, as a duty, upon all our ministers and candidates to "make themselves better and more thoroughly acquainted with these venerable documents of the faith of our fathers than has hitherto been the case with many," *resolved:* "That it is not by any means our intention hereby to diminish the absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures, but much rather to place it in the clearest light possible, and that we by no means design through these symbols to place constraint upon the consciences of any, but much rather through them to bind the conscience to the Holy Scriptures as the divine source of truth."

While thus basing her faith upon the Scriptures alone, our Church claims to be in cordial sympathy with the Christian Church of the early centuries, and in token of this she places in the forefront of her confessional position the *three œcumenical creeds*, indorsing them as correct statements of Bible truth. She adopts these, not because of any ecclesiastical authority that may be claimed for them, but because she believes them to be in accordance with the Holy Scriptures.

And when summoned by the highest earthly authority to give account of her faith and practice, she witnessed before the Emperor and all the dignitaries of the Diet at Augsburg, in 1530, that noble confession which became the bulwark of Protestantism. This grand production, the embodiment of the profoundest learning and the deepest piety of the Christian Church at that critical period in its history, not only gave adequate expression to the pent-up aspirations of the multitudes on the continent of Europe who were then sighing for deliverance from the thraldom of the papacy, but it became the model and type for subsequently published creeds of Christendom. Henry VIII. made free use of it (and of Melanchthon's Apology) in the construction of his famous Ten Articles. Had he been more of a devout Christian and less of a scheming politician, he would no doubt have allowed his learned men to quote more freely from it than they did.

Still more clearly is the influence of the Augsburg Confession

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apparent in the formation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. "In more than one respect," says Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, in his charge for 1849, "the Confession of Augsburg is the source of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England and America—their prototype in form, their model in doctrine, and the very foundation of many of their expressions; while others are drawn from its derivative expositions and repetitions."*

But the Augsburg Confession is not the only doctrinal standard recognized in the Lutheran Church. There are others, subsequently published, that were indorsed by large portions of the Church. None of these were, however, universally adopted, nor is their acceptance by any one, in their entirety, essential to constitute him a true Lutheran.

In some parts of our Church in this country an absolute acceptance of every jot and tittle of all the statements in the Symbolical Books is rigidly insisted upon, and acquiescence also in some additional modern tests is enforced; but such is not the spirit of the General Synod. Its doctrinal position is set forth in the following eloquent and unanswerable vindication of the true Lutheranism of the General Synod by one who was her enthusiastic champion in 1857: "The Augsburg Confession is the symbol which alone has been recognized always, everywhere, and by all Lutherans as their Confession; and, as Lutheranism in America should rest on nothing that is local or national, but should embody as essential only that which is common to the Lutheranism of all lands, it is a vital point that she [the General Synod] should acknowledge as her creed that only whose reception in the Church has been universal. The Augsburg Confession is the symbol of Lutheran Catholicity; all other distinctive portions of the Book of Concord are symbols of Lutheran particularity, creeds of Lutheran Churches, but not, in an undisputed sense, of the Lutheran Church."

I heartily indorse every word of this, and trust that this

* The reader is respectfully referred for interesting information in regard to the influence of the Lutheran Confessions upon the Ten Articles of Henry VIII. to a series of papers now being published in the *Lutheran*, of Philadelphia, by Rev. Dr. H. E. Jacobs; and in regard to the influence of the Augsburg Confession upon the Thirty-nine Articles to an essay read by Rev. Dr. J. G. Morris before a Lutheran Diet, held in Philadelphia in 1877, and published in the volume of its proceedings in 1878.

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liberal but truly genuine type of Lutheranism will ultimately prevail throughout our whole Church.

"The Augsburg Confession," says Oehler (in his Symbolik, quoted by Dr. Jacobs in his "Book of Concord," II., p. 34), "not only on historical grounds, because it is the banner around which the Church of the German Reformation has from the first continually gathered, or on those of ecclesiastical right, since the German Evangelical [Reformed] Church, as well as the Church of the Augsburg Confession, obtained legal recognition by the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555, and the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, but because of its contents, has been at all times regarded the fundamental confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, its peculiar *symbol*, as it is already called in the Formula of Concord."

The doctrinal basis of the General Synod is thus defined in its constitution, Article II., Section 3: "All regularly constituted Lutheran synods, not now in connection with the General Synod, receiving and holding, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word, may at any time become associated with the General Synod by adopting this constitution and sending delegates to its convention according to the ratio specified in section first of this article."

The limits of this article forbid a detailed statement of the doctrines of our Church as set forth in her chief Confession. It may suffice to remind the reader that it was enthusiastically indorsed by the distinguished representatives of all the leading Protestant churches of Europe and America at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin, in 1856. They recognized it as a clear and scripturally correct presentation of all the essential features of our common Christianity.

The christocentric idea pervades and dominates not only the Confession itself, but also the whole range of Lutheran dogmatic literature; and, in the promulgation of the Gospel, Lutheran preaching is pre-eminently distinguished for the clearness with which the great central truth of justification by faith alone is constantly and earnestly set forth.

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But there is one feature of the Augsburg Confession in regard to which a word of explanation may be looked for in this connection. We sometimes hear it said that the Lutheran Church, in the tenth article of this Confession, teaches a doctrine nearly allied to transubstantiation; viz., that the substance of the body of Christ becomes united with the substance of the bread and wine, thus constituting a new material, partly earthly and partly divine. Intelligent students of Lutheran literature should blush to make such an assertion. Never did a Lutheran theologian give real occasion for such misapprehension and misrepresentation. With one accord our writers insist upon it that during the entire administration of the ordinance the bread remains bread, and the wine remains wine, undergoing no change whatever. But the Confession does teach a sacramental communication of the body and blood of Christ *in the act of the reception of the elements by the participant*, but no attempt is made to explain *how* we thus receive him. We are content to take the words of Scripture as we find them, believing even where we cannot understand.

II.—HER CHURCH POLITY, CULTUS, ETC.

In regard to all such matters she is liberal and free.

"Unto the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the Doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere." —Augsburg Confession, Art. VII.

Holding that the Scriptures do not prescribe any form of worship or of ecclesiastical government, she freely adapts herself to her surroundings in matters of this kind and makes no conscience of such adiaphora. In Europe, amid the paraphernalia of monarchy and aristocracy, she arrays her ministers in official robes. Maintaining in her standards, upon Scriptural authority, the parity of the ministry, she nevertheless recognizes in Scandinavia a *jure humano* form of Episcopacy; whilst in Germany she has what amounts to about the same thing in her office of superintendent; and in this country she has neither bishops nor superintendents. Here, unhindered by State authority or example, she avails herself of her liberty to organize her ecclesiastical government in strict accordance with her scriptural theory of ministerial parity.

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Some of her characteristic features are thus set forth by Rev. Dr. Seiss, in his Ecclesia Lutherana, p. 191: "The Lutheran Church held and taught a sovereign salvation, by grace only, before Calvin was freed from the shackles of papal superstition. She confessed and believed that Christ Jesus tasted death for every man before Arminius was born. She approved and practiced the holding of meetings for prayer and mutual edification before there was a Wesley, or any followers of his method. She had her liturgies and forms of devotion,—the models and sources of the best that have followed,—when England was yet in the arms of the papacy, and the English Book of Common Prayer had not been thought of. She had her bishops before there were any Episcopalians, so called, though ever denying that diocesan Episcopacy is at all necessary to the integrity of the Church. In government, she prescribes for the pure preaching of the Word, and the administration of the Sacraments according to that Word, but leaves all questions of outward forms to be regulated as the circumstances, may render most convenient or desirable. And in all things she is as many-sided as the graces of the Holy Spirit, or the glorious character of her Lord."

Her form of worship is simple, with a moderate liturgy, varying considerably in different countries, but embodying in most cases the few liturgical forms that were in use in very early times, and have endeared themselves to the heart of the Church. There is a growing desire for greater uniformity in this respect among the English speaking portions of our Church in this country, and committees appointed by the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Lutheran Synod of the South have just prepared and are publishing a common order of service for all English-speaking Lutherans, which, it is hoped, may serve as an additional bond of union among them.

A striking feature of our Church is her attachment to the ancient custom of observing the so-called order of the Church Year, by which the cardinal facts and doctrines of the Gospel are annually held forth and commented upon.

Her liberality is further shown by her treatment of other Protestant denominations, *i. e.*, of those who hold with her the grand fundamental doctrines of our most holy faith. She recognizes the fact that the Lord has many sincere and faithful followers in other branches of the church, who are in substantial accord

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with her in faith and practice. Our General Synod firmly believes in the "communion of saints" as that part of the Apostle's Creed is commonly understood among English-speaking Christians everywhere. She loves all who love the Lord Jesus, and her Lutheranism does not hinder her from holding fellowship with all Evangelical Christians at the Lord's table or anywhere else. And this, not from any failure to appreciate the importance of the truth as held and taught in her own standards, but from the conviction that her peculiar method of stating and explaining it is of less importance, relatively, than her real and substantial agreement with her fellow-Christians in other respects.

There have, it is true, been periods in the long and eventful history of our Church when she has not everywhere been true to her original faith and practice. But the age of cold and heartless orthodoxy was followed by a glorious revival of deep and earnest piety, when the genuine spirit of primitive Lutheranism once more prevailed throughout her borders. And then it was that the founders of our Church in this country came to our shores, bringing with them the liberal spirit of Pietistic Lutheranism that has heretofore characterized the bulk of our American Lutheran Church, and has from its organization distinguished our General Synod.

III.—HER LITERATURE.

Can any other branch of the Protestant Church compare with her in this respect?

One in spirit with the Christian Church of the early centuries, she rightly claims an equal share with all other Christians in the literature of that age. And, adopting the great œcumenical creeds as her own, she also claims her share in whatever was really valuable in the mediæval scholasticism that was in some sense the natural outgrowth of those early creeds of Christendom.

But she has, beside, a literature peculiarly her own. Starting with the trumpet blast of the *ninety-five theses* on the 31st of October, 1517, and flinging to the breeze the battle flag of the Reformation on the 30th of June, 1530, *the incomparable Augustana,* she has ever since led the van of the evangelical host in the onward march of theological learning. Enter any of the

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great libraries of Europe, or even of this country, and view the serried ranks of huge Latin and German folios, the products of Lutheran learning and research during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were giants in those days. A bare list of their names would cumber these pages. What a rich legacy of precious scientific dogmatic literature has been inherited by our Church! Nor has the love for patient and profound research died out among us. Witness the annual exodus of American students, old and young, to sit at the feet of Lutheran professors in Germany. Little do many even of the learned among us here realize to how great an extent English theological literature is the mere echo of German Lutheran erudition.

Our Church has inherited also a rich treasure of *devotional* literature. Many of her profoundest theologians were at the same time models of simple, child-like piety, and have made precious contributions to our store of devotional writings. Arndt's "True Christianity" has secured for itself a place next to the Bible among our pious Germans, and has been made accessible also to English readers; but the ponderous quartos of Scriver's "Seelenschatz," Heinrich Müller's "Liebes-Kuss" and "Geistliche Erquick-Stunden," Porst's "Göttliche Führung der Seelen" and "Das Wachsthum der Wiedergebornen," etc., etc.—these and multitudes of similar works, eminently spiritual and practical, are still locked up in the German and Scandinavian languages.

And what branch of the Church can compare with her in the richness of *hymnological literature*. She has always been emphatically a singing church. Her joyous evangelical faith found almost boisterous expression in the triumphant songs of Luther that so largely contributed to the dissemination of the truth and fairly shook the foundations of the Papacy. Nor has the spirit of sacred song ever departed from her. Prince among her multitude of hymn-writers is Paul Gerhard, and Sebastian Bach among her composers of sacred music. In both departments she stands unrivaled.

IV.—HER MISSIONARY ACTIVITY.

In the words of Doctor Seiss (Ecclesia Lutherana, p. 199): "Modern missions were first moved by Luther. Luther himself saw, taught, and urged the true aggressiveness of the Gospel. 'Jerusalem verily was to be the place where the preaching of the

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Gospel of salvation should begin,' says he, 'but it was not to remain there alone. It was also to be carried to the heathen, and preached everywhere in all the world. There is to be no difference as to places or persons. The Gospel is to be promulgated to the utmost limits of the world.'" Gustavus Vasa, the Lutheran King of Sweden, who reigned from 1523 to 1560, has the illustrious honor of instituting and establishing the first effective Protestant missions. To him the various tribes of Lapps were indebted for the diffusion of Christianity among them by Lutheran missionaries; while the Finns owed to him the first works of instruction, bibles, and hymn books printed in their own tongue.

We point, with pardonable pride, to a long line of illustrious European Lutheran sovereigns who distinguished themselves by earnest and energetic missionary efforts. Among them, Charles IX. of Sweden, who reigned from 1602 to 1611, and Christopher of Wurtemberg. Ernst, surnamed the Pious, Prince of Saxe-Gotha, in 1663, sent Wansleben to labor in the Gospel in Abyssinia.

Dr. Kurtz, Church History, II., 251, writes as follows: "Frederick IV. of Denmark (1705) founded the mission at Tranquebar for his East India possessions, for which Francke sent to him two very excellent and zealous laborers, Henry Plützschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. The latter translated the New Testament into the Tamul language (died 1719). This Danish East India mission extended its labors into the English possessions. The Orphan House at Halle contributed to it many excellent missionaries, the most prominent of whom was Christian F. Schwartz (who died 1798), the patriarch of Lutheran missions, who labored almost fifty years as a faithful missionary. In the last quarter of this century, however, the zeal for this mission expired under the influence of rationalism; the connection with the Orphan House was dissolved, and *the rich Lutheran harvest was gathered almost entirely into the garners of the Anglican Church.*"

"Whilst the records of Christianity continue," writes Dr. Seiss, "the names of Plützschau, Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, Egede, Guericke, Gutzlaff, and Schulze will live as the brightest in the constellation of Protestant missionaries. All these were Lutherans—the sons and servants of our Church."

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And, I may add, it is from the Lutheran mission houses in Germany that the great British associations now procure many of those whom they send out as missionaries.

"It was the missionary spirit, first of all, that led to the planting of our Church in this country. The Lutherans first came hither chiefly moved with the inspiring idea of planting on these newly discovered shores the pure Church of the living God. The plan was conceived by Gustavus Adolphus, and carried into effect by his prime minister, Oxenstiern. The controlling thought in the enterprise was, by the colonization of Christian people, to establish the Christian religion on these then heathen lands."

Campanius, a native of Stockholm, was the first Protestant missionary among the Indians in this country, beginning his labors in 1646, several years before John Elliott, "the apostle to the Indians." He translated Luther's Catechism into the language of the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) and labored with great success among them.

V.—HER HISTORY.

Age is not in itself a warrant of excellence, nor is descent from a distinguished ancestry a proper ground of boasting. But, when that which is intrinsically excellent is also venerable, it is all the more worthy of respect; and it is, after all, something to have come of worthy ancestors.

Our Church is no off-shoot of the papacy. Her life-current is only the on-flow of the vitality of primitive Christianity. Her healthy growth cast off the accretions and excrescences of mediæval Romanism, and she became thus the *Mother of Protestantism.*

No Lutheran need blush to read the story of her conflicts with the power of Rome in its efforts to regain its lost hold upon the populations of Central Europe, the fearful struggles of the Thirty Years' War, etc., etc.

In this country our Church is most numerously represented in the middle tier of States, and, through recent German and Scandinavian immigration, also in the great States of the Northwest. The earliest Lutheran immigrants to this country were Hollanders and Swedes, and these were followed by Germans from the Palatinate and the Tyrol, near Salzburg. The Hollanders and Swedes were colonists by choice; the Palatines and Salzburgers

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were driven from their homes by popish persecution. But all of them were from the poorer class of the population of their respective countries, and began their career in this western wilderness under the most unfavorable circumstances, which greatly retarded their intellectual, social, and religious development. Their tenacious adherence to the use of their native tongues constituted a chief hindrance to their progress in culture and influence, and they thus lived amid their unsympathizing English surroundings almost like strangers in a strange land. It was not until they began to use the English language, and establish literary and theological institutions, that they came into public recognition, and began to be properly appreciated by other Christians.

For a long while the numerical increase of our Church was held in check in this country by the loss of its young membership. Many of the young people, using only the English language, were practically driven from its fold into other churches by the persistent refusal of its pastors to preach in any other than a foreign tongue. This was the case among the Swedes along the Delaware, where now entire congregations, along with their valuable church property, have fallen into the hands of the Episcopalians. And many of the Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations in our large cities are made up to a great extent out of original Lutheran material. The same process is still going on to some extent, especially among the immigrants from Germany. The Scandinavians, as a rule, are less tenacious of their foreign peculiarities and more readily assimilate themselves to their American surroundings. Indeed, upon the whole, we may confidently say that the tide is rapidly turning. The Lutheran Church is now not only in most places holding her own, but (in the Middle and Western States), as she is becoming better understood and appreciated by intelligent Americans, she is attracting all classes of the community to her fold. Take, as an illustration, the following statement that appeared this week (April 29th), in the *Lutheran Observer*, the leading church paper in the General Synod, edited by Rev. Dr. F. W. Conrad, Philadelphia. It is from the pen of Rev. H. C. Holloway, pastor of the Ev. Luth. Church in Middletown, Dauphin County, Pa.

"In a recent large accession to my congregation, there were represented a great variety of Christian denominations. There were no less than nine different

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kinds, viz.: Mennonites, Tunkers, German Reformed, Protestant Episcopal, United Brethren, Roman Catholics, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist. Some of these came to us directly by certificate; others indirectly, both their parents or one of them belonging to one or the other of the above-named denominations. All came in a regular way, and from choice, after due consideration.

"Perhaps I hear you say, 'Deliver me from such a mixture!' I would not say so, for these persons are of more than the average intelligence, and of an age sufficient to make intelligent choice. But, whilst all save three of the named churches have existence in this town, and these persons could nearly all have found an ecclesiastical home there, yet they preferred the Lutheran. They gave proof that they had examined our doctrines and liked our form of worship. They are amongst our most useful, devoted, and pious people, and assimilate very well with our system.

"It has been the experience of the writer that whenever intelligent people have brought to their attention the pure doctrines of our Church, and her practices are adhered to, they command respect, and there is a readiness to accept them."

The Lutheran Church, as a whole, outnumbering all other Protestant denominations combined, has been outstripping, in this country, one after another, until now she stands third upon the list. At this rate of increase, the day may not be far distant when she will be first, numerically, among all Protestant denominations here, as she has been for more than three hundred years in Europe!

CHARLES A. HAY.

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SERPENT MYTHS.

FROM out the cloud-like mists which surround the dawn of the religious sentiment in man, starts the strange fauna with which he filled the vacant spaces in his mythical canvas.

Indebted, as they undoubtedly are, to the phenomena of nature for their primary existence, poetic fancy has exaggerated and diversified the attributes of these creations of the imagination, adding characteristics in the luxuriance of its inventive powers, until it may be said that those who repeated these strange stories at the firesides of old, themselves created a character for every member of the animal kingdom, often without the slightest regard to any inherent peculiarities possessed by the objects which they arrayed in these fanciful robes. Thus the bear became the representative of good natured stupidity in spite of his remarkable intelligence, the mouse grew to be a symbol of the soul, the eagle was popularly supposed to possess great knowledge of magic, and the hideous toad bore on his crest a jewel which could ward off the approach of evil; but of all the strange and wonderful transformations wrought by imagination, surely the prismatic and beautiful figure that the ancients conjured up and presented to us as the typical serpent is the most remarkable metamorphosis.

By the power of this magic transformation he vied with Proteus in the multiplicity of his shapes. Now, as the God of knowledge, he taught men all useful arts; again, as in Eden, became a tempter all the more to be dreaded on account of the persuasive eloquence with which his godlike wisdom had endowed him. Sinuous and graceful, wise and tender, ever and anon as the symbol of Æsculapius he healed and blessed man, or, as represented by his legitimate progeny, the dragon, cursed and annihilated him as the truly frightful impersonation of evil. In the early stages of religious development he everywhere appears. As an emblem

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of eternity he encircles the Brahmin ideal of the universe. At the root of Yggdrasil, the world upbearing ash, in the Norse legends, he lies, the enemy of the gods, whom he shall survive. Even Pwan-ku, the Chinese Adam, was assisted by a dragon in his mighty work of chiseling a world out of the chaos into which he was born. Probably because of the multiplicity of his attributes, the serpent was singularly fortunate in securing a place in the mythology of all nations, either in the capacity of incarnate evil, or as a representative of some beneficent spirit.

Thus he is held in honor among the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Chinese, Greeks, Phœnicians, as well as in Egypt and India. So great, indeed, was the veneration paid him in the latter country, that at the beginning of the present century, a child having the power of handling venomous serpents with impunity aroused such a degree of religious excitement in certain districts, that the magistrate considered it necessary to keep the government constantly informed of his movements. It was, however, especially in the Nile region that the snake was most highly honored; here, enshrined in the mystic religion of Egypt, he played a dual part, impersonating at once the evil and beneficent principle, the former as the red serpent Set, the slayer of divine Osiris, and personifying the latter in the solar deity Chneph, who was typified by the falcon-headed snake. "The most divine nature of all," says a priest of the ancient religion, "was one serpent bearing the form of a hawk, and also being most delightful in aspect; for when he opened his eyes, he filled all the places of his native region with light; but when he closed them, darkness immediately ensued."

In a description, given by Pliny, of the procession of Isis, he tells of a mystic vase, the handle of which was formed of an asp "wreathed in a knot and lifting on high its streaked, swollen, scaly neck." His account of the statue of Osiris, "carried in the happy bosom of a priest," resembles so strongly a recital of the mystic charms of pantheistic Abraxas, that one is half inclined to hail him as the same deity.

This double capacity in which the Egyptian myth presents the serpent, first as the evil genius Set, depriving the world of the god Osiris, and secondly, as the symbol of Chneph, a beneficent deity, is remarkable, as presenting at once the two antagonistic phases of the serpent's character as depicted by the ancients. Indeed, so prominent a part did the snake play in the pantheon of

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Egypt that, unlike some other denizens of the animal kingdom, whose worship was purely local, he was everywhere highly revered, from Pharaoh, who bore the hooded asp upon his crown as a symbol of royalty, to the peasant of Lower Egypt.

Nor were the classic nations alone fascinated by the sinuous grace and brilliant coloring of the snake. Serpent worship in different forms was to be found in many cases among the American Indians, of which the religious dance of the Moquis presents an example, a ceremony probably commemorative of their mythical origin, and which is distinguished by such fearful details that an eye witness has described it as "a drama bearing the lurid tinge of a nightmare." The fearlessness of consequences, the undaunted manner in which the Moquis handle the venomous serpents used in their dance, forcibly reminds one of the snake-charmers of the East, and proves that "a solemn scorn of ills," always a quality especially prized by the gods, was no less acceptable to the sacred snake than to Juggernaut, El, or Odin.

But it was among the savages of Africa that serpent worship attained its completest development; indeed, so mighty an influence did it wield over the religious fancy of the negro that centuries of civilization and Christianity have been unable entirely to eradicate its teachings.

True, the glory of the serpent cult has departed from the United States. The sacred robes that once enwrapped the voudoo doctor have become only the tattered garments of the conjurer, the priestess has sunk to a position little less enviable than that once held by the witches of Salem. Still their power is acknowledged, and a certain respect is still rendered them as skilled compounders of charms and simples, persons whom it is ill to offend. But these honors are paid rather from fear than veneration. It is, however, in Hayti that we must seek the older form of snake worship. There still the serpent cult breeds all the horrors of cannibalism and human sacrifice, the fearful rites with which he is appeased. Children being at once the most helpless and the purest of humanity are, as a rule, selected as offerings, and blood-curdling are the accounts given of the preliminary starvation of the poor innocents in their confinement under the altar, and the subsequent feast.

Among the Southern negroes the serpent worship of their ancestors has suffered the same decadence as did the worship of

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the heathen gods; but few are left of its devotees, except the small community who hold their yearly meetings on St. John's eve; its influence, however, is still seen in the abiding fear of being "conjured," which permeates the lower classes, both white and black, throughout the Gulf States. A trace of it is also seen in the belief that a serpent in a bottle buried under the lintel of the door causes blindness.

The voudoo charms are by no means the only African superstitions in which the serpent plays a prominent part. He has also in the negro mind a subtile connection with the Sun, his life being, in fact, inextinguishable until the sinking of his patron luminary. Nor is his power totally destroyed even by death. If hung up by the tail he is a potent charm to bring the longed-for rain, and few are the Southern children who have not been told that the first thunder-storm of spring is the serpent's reveille. The rattlesnake has the additional power of curing neuralgia if his rattles be worn in the hat band of the sufferer. The superstitious also believe in the fabulous "Joint Snake." When struck he flies into sentient sections, which, if unmolested, wriggle themselves together again, and glide away uninjured in the grass. There is a verse which in ante-bellum days was sung by the old nurses to the wondering children, illustrative of the superstition that the serpent held dominion over the frogs:

> "The Snake he bake a hoe cake,
> He set the Frog to mind 'em;
> The Frog he went to sleep,
> And the Lizard come an stole it.
> Bring back my hoe cake you long tailed varmin."

Among the many attributes ascribed to the serpent, longevity is one which has especially fitted him to become the emblem of eternity. Renewing, say the learned in magic lore, his youth with the changes of his skin, accident alone can deprive him of life. A curious superstition connected with this form of the serpent's mythical character is the belief that no inducement, however tempting, can persuade him to enter a circle.

When Gulliver congratulated the Luggnaggians upon possessing in the Struldbrugs, or immortals, an inexhaustible fund of information, he but gave voice to the ancient association of wisdom with longevity. Perhaps it was from this connection of ideas that the snake's form has been so generally coupled with the

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birth of knowledge, even in the Divine Book. "The serpent," says Genesis, "was the wisest of the beasts of the field," and to his artful persuasions man owes the woe-fraught knowledge of good and evil.

The demi-god Cadmus, the patron and introducer of letters in Greece, was transformed into a serpent by offended Mars, and in like manner gentle Hea, the Chaldean "Lord of Waters," took upon himself the form of a snake when he instructed man in all useful arts.

The serpents and tortoises, aspirants to the rank of Dragon in China, are obliged to pass through a competitive examination, and can only attain such distinction upon having shown themselves learned enough to justify their admittance into this august body. But it is the seven-headed cobras of the Indian that possess the most remarkable knowledge of the magical arts, which they habitually exert for the benefit of favored individuals; often, as in the tales of "Muchie Lal" and the "Dog-Mother," using their power to reward the good and punish the wicked. To these legends of beneficent serpents belongs also the story of the grateful snakes of Melampus, whose kisses upon their master's ears opened them to the voices of all living things; as well as the quaint legends told in the Russian and German nurseries of the white serpent of which only a morsel need be eaten to enable the happy gourmet to understand the languages of bird and beast. Thus, as the patron of wisdom and the emblem of longevity, the serpent came, by natural development, to be also the symbol of medicine, and the favored henchman of Æsculapius, of which fact the barbers' poles of our day are quaint monuments. The story told by the Latins of his installation among the great doctor's retainers is a pretty one.

The Romans, suffering from the ravages of an epidemic, sent a deputation to sacrifice at the temple of Æsculapius, situated in Epidaurus. They were followed on their embarkation by a snake, which accompanied the returning worshipers until just before they reached Rome, where it slipped into the Tiber, and, swimming to an island, there made its abode. A temple was built to the patron of medicine at the spot indicated by the inspired serpent, whereupon the epidemic ceased.

On the numerous gems representing sacrifices to Æsculapius and in amulets against evil of all descriptions, the snake is ever

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present, now uniting head and tail, an emblem of eternity, and again wreathed around a staff, or looking into a cup, but oftenest either in combat with other animals or merging itself into the human figure, as in amulets representing a cuirass-covered man with the extremities of a serpent.

The serpent-entwined staff of Mercury, too, if worn graven on a jewel, has the power to confer knowledge, and is especially beneficial to merchants : whoever wears it is always sure to make the most judicious bargains. On one of the most beautiful of these tributes to the serpent, a youth is engraved holding a snake head downward over a vessel filled with fire, representing, it is surmised, a sacrifice to Æsculapius. Remembering, however, the magic gruel which the mystic sisters prepared for Baldur, over which, too, a serpent was held, that his breath might give such power to the mixture that even the Sun God should be strengthened thereby, we wonder if here we have not a devotee of the healing art preparing a drug by the same formula, thereby establishing another link in the golden chain which connects the denizens of Valhalla and Olympus.

Nor is the mystical link between the serpent and the healing art ignored in the records of Israel. We are told that when the Hebrews were visited with a plague of fiery serpents, it was to a brazen image of their tormentors they were bidden look up and live, after which, so great was the veneration for this symbol, that in the days of Hezekiah he found it necessary to remove it out of the temple and cause its destruction to prevent idolatry among the people. Christianity was also not entirely free from reliance on the snake's healing powers. Occasionally he appears in this enviable capacity in the legends of the saints.

One of the most quaint and charming accounts of beneficent serpents is the story of Nothburga, which you may hear told in the valley of the Neckar, beneath the shadow of the castle which bears her name.

Nothburga, the Christian daughter of a heathen king, persistently refused to accept the husband of her father's choice, alleging as her objection her lover's adherence to the worship of his forefathers. She fled from her enraged father and found shelter in a cavern a few miles down the river. But the king, having discovered her retreat, immediately followed, and in vain sought to persuade her to return; finding, eventually, that his arguments

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were useless, in his anger he caught her arm to force her acquiescence; to his consternation the member came off in his hand. In horror he returned to the castle, leaving his pious daughter to her own devices. Hardly had he departed when a white snake appeared and, licking Nothburga's wound, immediately cured the saint, enabling her to go forth and preach the new gospel throughout the valley. Her tomb bears upon it a recumbent figure with only one arm, in memory of the miracle.

The medicinal qualities of dragons' blood were much lauded throughout the middle ages and universally deemed a protection against any weapon, however deadly. The heroes who were fortunate enough to obtain this precious bath were, like Siegfried, made invulnerable.

In the early Egyptian hieroglyphics we find representations of snakes' bodies crowned by female heads; and, indeed, this class of serpents seems to have proved equally attractive to all nations, an evidence of which subtle fascination is that the legends of the "snake maidens" still live in the nursery tales of to-day, perennially young and beautiful as though their birth were not wrapped in the mysteries of a prehistoric age. Of this family came Larnia, the witch of Crete, whose woman's heart rendered her doubly sensitive to the degradation she suffered during her incarceration within her scaly prison; nor did she on renewing the pristine glory of her human form completely lose the essence of her serpent nature. Harmonia, the wife of Cadmus, to be a companion in her husband's misfortunes, also took upon herself the serpent's shape, but being devoid of evil intent, never, it is said, shunned, but rather sought man's presence. Perhaps it is but another form of the classic Harmonia which has become familiar to us under the name of the fairy Gentilla, who, in an adder's shape, sought refuge with Prince Leander from the vengeance of the irate gardeners, but at the end of several days dropped her scaly mantle and, arrayed in supernatural charms, munificently rewarded her protector. In some of the later accounts of Melusina she is cited as a member of this sisterhood. Jean D'Arras represents her as a serpent "enameled blue and white;" thus also did she present herself to the commander of Lusignan, a fortress which she erected in the early days of her wedded happiness. If there be any who wonder that this union of serpent and woman should have proved attractive

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to our ancestors, might not the sinuous grace and enigmatical character of our own Elsie Venner plead eloquently for the charms of her myth-born sisters?

It is not, however, in this fascinating form that the serpent usually presents itself, but rather in the fearful guise of the storm cloud Ahi, which Indra slew, like Red Set, the fratricide, or, again, like the winged dragon, perhaps the most terrible of all the serpent brood. In these evil forms the snake is usually connected, strangely enough, with marsh or water; particularly is this the case in the Hellenic pantheon and in the Northern legends. Is it not probable that, experiencing the evil effects consequent upon a residence in the vicinity of swampy land, and at the same time sensible of the incalculable benefits accruing from an abundant supply of water, the ancients may, on observing how frequently the marsh surrounded a fountain, have represented the deadly mists arising from the former as a dragon, and personified the latter as a captive maiden or a hidden treasure? The universal attribute of these malign monsters is the capacity they possess to subjugate cities and even kingdoms by their pestilential exhalations. Flying by night over the country, they breathe their poison upon the sleeping world, indiscriminately blasting man and beast.

Sometimes, as in the story of Gundel, they confine their depredations to a particular castle; but usually, like the "Laidly worm of Lambeth," they lay waste whole districts of country, devouring the substance of the inhabitants, and eventually, when their ravenous appetites are left unsatisfied, destroying the impoverished people themselves.

When with the sinking sun the marsh mists begin to rise, floating birdlike on the night air, yet always preserving a serpentine grace, what was more likely than that the mind of our forefathers should have seized upon the death-bringing phenomena, and with the subtle alchemy of poetic thought have transformed the ascending mist into a winged snake, whose poisonous breath should overcome all heroes, be they never so brave and skillful, except only the glorious Sun God, at the first touch of whose golden arrow the monster must take flight.

The Greek mythology is full of examples to support this theory, probably the most prominent of which is the story of Python's death by Apollo's hand, who thereby gave to the world a pellucid

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fountain which issued from the monster's body. It will be remembered that Python, like most of his kindred, was a denizen of the marshes. Cadmus, too, found in his wanderings that a clear and beautiful spring was rendered unapproachable by the seven-headed serpent of Mars, and succeeded in slaying him only after the monster had devoured or poisoned all the wanderer's companions. And Hercules, the hero of heroes, in whose adventurous life serpents play so prominent a part, succeeded at last in slaying Hydra, the many-headed serpent which, marsh-like, poisoned the air around the fountain of Amymone, and thereby enabled the people to receive the benefit of Neptune's munificence.

The dragon which started up to devour Andromeda was also water-born and subject to the commands of Poseidon, who sent him to revenge an insult to the Ocean's Queen. But it was especially in the Norse tales that the dragon-myth attained to its fullest development. Here, from the first, Jörmungander lay in the depths of the ocean, girdling the middle world, dreaming as she waited of the twilight of the gods when she should slay and be slain by the mighty Thor.

Siegfried must needs penetrate a black and treacherous fen when searching for the ally of his enemy, the evil smith; he, however, eventually conquered the dragon, and came away victorious in spite of the monster's sickening odor and poisonous exhalations. Beowulf slew Gundel, a dragon who made his home in an adjacent marsh and nightly devoured the guests who lay in Hygelak's castle, and King Ortnit's treacherous father-in-law bade him place the dragon's eggs, which he sent as a fair present, in some damp and marshy place that the heat of the sun might hatch them. To rid his country of the many evils consequent upon the ravages of these monsters, he went out to meet them in mortal combat, but falling asleep in the dragon's demesne, was slain by its foul breath. It resisted all attacks upon its marshy fastness until the coming of Wolfdieterich, by whom it was slain.

In the beautiful story of the loves of Dietwart and Princess Minnie, the unwary maiden, who, in the ardor of the chase, had pursued the wounded stag into the damp and thickly wooded recesses of the forest, was attacked by a monstrous serpent, which, after wounding Dietwart, was at length overpowered by the hero, not, however, without having by its poisonous breath so inflamed the wound that, although a mere scratch to all appearances,

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it required the magic balm possessed by the princess to heal it. As the fairy tales of a country are but the small coin of its mythical treasures, the dragons, who, in the story of "The fair one with the golden locks," watched the entrance to the cavern whence flowed the water of life, are perhaps worthy of mention, as well as the monstrous, but lethargic, serpent, who coiled himself around the singing apple, in dim resemblance to the ever wakeful guardian of the golden fruit of the Hesperides.

When the benign light of Christianity illuminated the dark places of earth, the serpent, undaunted, refused to hide his discrowned head, and was rewarded for his temerity, as has already been seen, by his incorporation into the saintly legends; but this survival is perhaps worse than oblivion, as he usually appears in a most unenviable capacity, representing to St. Anthony the seductive power of evil, banished by St. Patrick to Lake Dilveen, where he impatiently longs for his liberation, or in his dragon's form to be overcome by knightly St. George. It is particularly this last adventure that bears upon the subject under consideration.

The Cappadocian knight St. George came, in the course of his wanderings, to a town of Lybia, which he found plunged in deepest mourning over the imminent sacrifice of the king's only daughter to a ravenous serpent which, having possessed himself of the adjacent pond, not only cut off the supply of water, but when not fed daily with a young maiden filled the air with so deadly a pestilence that "there were not enough living to bury the dead." The Christian hero arrived just in season to save the princess and, single-handed, to vanquish the monster which had successfully withstood the attacks of a heathen army.

A remarkable feature in the histories of these gigantic serpents is the evident pre-ordination of the conqueror. Until he makes his appearance the dragon is invulnerable and irresistible. If, noting this fact, we then examine more closely the physiognomy of the conquerors, we find a marked resemblance between them, a likeness so striking that we are constrained to believe that the sunny eyes of the Greek Apollo beam alike from under the helmet of Beowulf and Siegfried and glitter behind the visor of the saintly knight who betrays his sun-born lineage, despite his many tortures and martyr's crown.

They are all alike untouched by the pestilential breath of the serpent, for what could tarnish the brilliance of the sun? Alike

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their arms penetrate the scaly hide of the monsters where other weapons have proved futile; alike their efforts are crowned by accruing good to mankind. To compare closely the thousand points of resemblance between these different types is impossible. So many masterly arguments in support of the theory of their unity have been presented that any attempt to re-enforce it seems needless. Taking for granted, then, this unity of personality between these mythical heroes, we have added another link to our argument. The Sun God, in whatever shining guise, is the emblem of light, life, and power, and, therefore, the inveterate foe of darkness and disease.

When, as the ideal of youth and beauty, he stands before us, where could a fitter conqueror be found for the marsh-born monsters, whose scaly hides are vulnerable only to his golden arrows, before whose powerful points the mists melt away in fear. Thus, as we look into the dim past, we see the serpent now shimmering with prismatic colors; now in sober garb as becomes a student; now in woman's form; now raised on high as an all-powerful God; now swelling with death-dealing poison, or, lastly, winged and mist-like, pervading the religious superstitions of all nations.

VARINA ANNE DAVIS.

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CLUBS IN POLITICS.

THE recent National Convention of Republican Clubs, which met in New York City December 15th, 16th, and 17th, was without precedent in our political history. It was an experiment of a very bold character, and its brilliant success, admitted even by its political opponents, has made it the starting point of the organized club in national politics. Sufficient time has elapsed since the convention to consider dispassionately its effect and mission. The assembling of fifteen hundred delegates, representing clubs in every State and Territory, is bound to produce some effect in politics, especially when the object of the convention, namely, the organization of a national league of clubs, was so thoroughly and satisfactorily accomplished as it was on that occasion. It was apparent even to amateur political observers that there were possibilities of danger to the party from such a convention. The presidential campaign being not far distant increased those possibilities. The older and conservative politicians of the Republican party viewed with concern and anxiety its approaching opening. They rushed to New York to restrain the young Hotspurs from platform-making and dangerous utterances. The managers of the different presidential candidates were there early and late to suppress "booms" for rival candidates and to promote them for their own favored leader. But all the fears of the one, and the efforts of the other amounted to nothing. The convention neither pre-empted the duty and privilege of the national nominating convention, nor was it used in any way to further the interest of any presidential candidate. When the name of Blaine was mentioned it was received with enthusiastic applause, and the same followed Mr. Sherman's name. The convention was marked by a distinctively national character; the West and New England, however, furnished the majority of the delegates. There was the

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young, active, and enthusiastic Republican belonging to a manhood which has been born since the war, and side by side with him was the venerable veteran who has come down to us from a former generation—and administration. Senators, Congressmen, ex-Cabinet Officers, former Foreign Ministers, and Governors mingled with the beardless and boyish workers of the Republican party. The organization of the convention indicated that it was no common assemblage. The Permanent Chairman was New York's senior Senator, William M. Evarts, distinguished alike for his public service in the Senate and for his standing at the bar. The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions was the Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, who has earned honorable distinction at home as a Congressman and abroad as our Minister to Germany. Ex-Cabinet Officer, and now Senator, William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, headed the Committee on Rules. On the floor of the convention were a score of men of national celebrity who have won renown in peace and in war. The convention which assembles in Chicago in June next will have no more ability or character among its delegates than had that in New York last December.

The result of the convention met the most sanguine expectations of its promoters and friends. All the business which the official call announced as the object of the meeting was fully transacted; all the dangers which it warned against were happily averted. In other words, the following purposes of the convention, as declared in the call, were accomplished:

"The primary object of holding this convention is to consider the propriety of organizing in the various States of the Union a larger number of Republican clubs and to determine the best manner of conducting their work."

"Also to devise some system that will conduce to the efficient co-operation of those clubs in State and National politics, *and the formation of a National League.*"

"*The convention shall not name, recommend, or nominate any candidate for office.*"

The real work of the convention was consummated upon the acceptance of a plan of organization of a National League, as presented by the committee appointed for that purpose. Substantially, the plan provides for a national organization of the State and territorial leagues of Republican clubs; it provides for an annual convention of delegates from clubs belonging to such

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leagues; it provides for an executive committee composed of one member from each league, and prohibits the League or any club thereof from endeavoring in any manner "to influence the action of any national, State, county or municipal convention; nor shall it indicate, as a League, any preference before any political convention, nor shall it, as a League, recommend any person as an applicant for any official position." Briefly stated, that is the outline of the work of the convention; everything else was simply decorative.

The prospective usefulness of the new revival in politics will better be appreciated when it is known that the Democratic leaders propose to hold a similar convention in the near future.

The question now arises, what good comes of all this? Where are the practical results in politics? In order to answer this, let us clearly understand the structure of this organization. The unit of the National League is the State League; the unit of the State League is the single club. So it will at once be seen that the primary and sole purpose of the national organization is to marshal under one command the numerous clubs of the country. Its mission will chiefly be to issue from its headquarters documents, speeches, suggestions, plans, and outlines of work to the general officers of the State Leagues, which will by them in turn be communicated to the various individual clubs within their jurisdiction. It must be said that the National League will be in its most effective condition during a presidential canvass, the State campaigns having but little place in its operations. So, after all, the question is reduced to an inquiry concerning the worth of the individual clubs as a factor in party management. What of clubs in politics? Do they pay? Are they the best machinery for party purposes? After considerable experience in this matter I do not hesitate to pronounce a well regulated permanent club to be the most effective agency for party work known in politics. Governor Foraker says that in his last campaign in Ohio he found a practical proof of this, for wherever he found a permanent club he saw work and enthusiasm. To the Ohio Republican League he said: "It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of permanent club organization in political work. Such clubs are a continuing nucleus around which to rally the whole party. From year to year, as they make history for themselves, they not only become more and more efficient,

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but they naturally beget a pride in their name and purpose which makes them more zealous and determined." In every club there are active, youthful, and enthusiastic forces which could not have been developed but by club association. This is one strong reason for a State League. The system that in one club proves effective is by association communicated to its neighbors, thereby adding strength to the strong and vigor to the weak. Clubs and leagues crystallize the best material in the party; it is thereby organized and utilized. The result is an intelligent leadership, which is half a battle.

In speaking of clubs, of course I refer to permanent organizations. Originally the introduction of clubs into American politics was simply for the purposes of publicly displaying party strength and arousing enthusiasm. Formerly they were confined to presidential campaigns, and first appeared in all their splendor in the famous campaign of 1840, the year of "coon-skins and hard cider," and

"Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

But they were only a temporary effervescence. They died with the canvass of Harrison. Later we find clubs of the same nature transforming the serious campaign of 1860 into a brilliant season of illuminated cavalcades. The "Wide Awakes" and the "Little Giants" rivaled each other in their torches and marches. But all this represented enthusiasm only, and their torches went out with the canvass. These temporary campaign clubs have existed almost entirely as a part of the presidential tournament. The political club of the present and future, under organization, means more than mere display. The consummation of the best generalship of politics has changed their course completely. They are directed toward work and education in the interests of party politics. They have become training schools for the young citizen. In Ohio, where the system has reached the highest stage, the large majority are incorporated; they have stockholders and a permanent club quarters open all the year round. They maintain the interest between campaigns by speeches from party leaders, lectures, and readings. The Ohio Republican League, composed of seventy-five such clubs, and so maintained, is the result of the club movement in politics. New Jersey and New York are similarly organized, and under the recent impetus of

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the New York Convention, other States are falling rapidly into line. Permanency is the first requisite of an organization that will accomplish effective work in politics. The club to be successful, permanent, and of use to its party must not become a tool or an engine. This means destruction to the club and danger to its party. It means bossism. It means the introduction into every city of a Tammany and an Irving Hall faction. Whenever a political club fails to act in harmony with the regularly constituted party authorities, it ceases to be a club; it becomes a cabal. Whenever it seeks to control the party conventions, it becomes a machine. In either case it is a failure and a curse. The prime object of clubs is to elect candidates, not to nominate them.

The densely inhabited city is the best sphere of action for clubs. In fact, experience proves that cities are the only place where permanent organizations can be maintained. There is some compensation for this in the fact that there is no other place where honest party work is more needed. The club, which usually contains the conservative and better element of voters, is the most effective instrument of destroying the tyranny and rule of the ward striker and "boss." I see in the well directed maintainance of political clubs in the large cities a very powerful means for municipal reform. No organization properly managed can afford to lend its aid to the election and perpetuation in power of a dishonest ring; the very nature of the club forbids it. Cincinnati a few years ago was held down by a veritable band of political thugs. It finally secured a registration law. The clubs of that city took the matter in hand of securing an honest registration; as a result they obtained, what they did not have for a long time prior thereto, an honest vote, and had it fairly counted. I know that the average New Yorker will read all this with some incredulity. But it must be remembered that the best known New York clubs have been bands of party plunderers and not party purifiers. They have been machines. The club, as it is proposed in politics, bears neither relation nor resemblance to them.

Work, organized work, is what counts in a campaign. While torchlight processions and picturesque displays by clubs all have their effect, the real, substantial warfare must be at the polls. Hence there is nothing so important in an election as to get out the full party vote. There is no agency yet devised by the wit of the political manager that equals for this purpose the work of the

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club in politics. The indefatigable industry of young enthusiasm—for the working force of all clubs is in the young men—on election day is worth a thousand speeches from great leaders on the night before the election. If there had been political clubs organized over New York in the last campaign, as there will be in the coming one, Blaine would have carried that State. A compact concentration of Republican clubs, inspired with that enthusiasm and loyalty which such organizations beget, would have secured a full vote on that dreary November day which proved to be a Waterloo for Republicanism. Not even the Burchard blunder, supplemented by the Delmonico *denouement* and the prohibition poll could have defeated us. There were enough votes accidentally remaining away, which organized work could have obtained, to have saved the day. Clubs always produce a full vote. The young men, whose struggles are always so earnest and true, take a pride in work on election day. There is an excitement about it that attracts. This is especially the case in the Republican party. Brave, honest, wide-awake, and loyal, young Republicans make the best political fighters in the world. Blaine, in 1884, expressed this happily, when to the Young Men's Blaine Club, of Cincinnati he said: "The giants of mythology typified the strength of young men, and to-day the strength of the Republican party is in the young men of the country, of whom it possesses a vast majority."

Another feature of club association which lends a practical charm to it, is the social gatherings and banquets which are now becoming so frequent. It is rapidly becoming fashionable in this country, as it has long been in England, for the social meetings of the political organizations to be the centres from which important utterances of party policy are made by our public men. These occasions afford the golden opportunity for political conferences and declarations. They have a healthy and intellectual influence; they bring together the wisdom and statesmanship of party.

I have not in this paper referred to the objections that may be urged against clubs. The reason is that when organized under the proposed methods and restraints of a National League, there can be no weighty objections against them. Of course no club can be better than its individual members; and that feature is not subject to discussion.

DANIEL J. RYAN.

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A CHAPTER OF WABASH.

In the North American Review for July, 1869, appeared an article by Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., entitled "A Chapter of Erie." The article was very vigorously written and its narrative abounded in exciting and dramatic details and personal incidents. Its author was then, in the best sense, a free-lance—a gentleman of fortune and leisure, with inherited independence and force of character, which he had cultivated and indulged on his own account. In that article Mr. Adams sharpened his sharp pen, characterized the transactions which he narrated, and pointed the moral of his tale.

The writer of the present article is a lawyer engaged in the daily practice of his profession, without fortune or leisure. Many of the men whose names appear in the following narrative are his personal acquaintances, and a few are his valued personal friends. For these reasons, and because he prefers to let his readers pass their own judgments, as well as because he feels sure the facts will speak for themselves with sufficient distinctness, the present writer will not indulge in any comments or criticisms of his own, but will limit himself to plain statements of fact. If, therefore, any one whose name appears here shall feel aggrieved, it will be the fault of the facts and not of the writer.

When compared with the "Chapter of Erie," the present article will present some notable contrasts. For example, Mr. Adams has now succeeded to the Presidency of the Union Pacific Railway Company, of which Mr. Jay Gould had control from 1874 to 1884, and his valiant pen and voice have gone silent. On the other hand, Mr. Gould remains the leading figure in this "Chapter of Wabash," as he was of Erie. In the present narrative, the reader will note the relative disappearance of the special forms of judicial usurpation and misconduct which lent such a

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lurid aspect to Mr. Adams's story; and in their place will be noted one sweeping judicial act, followed by two or three suppletory acts which accomplished the designs of the actors with complete effectiveness. Much of the vaticination, too, in which Mr. Adams indulged, has now become fact. Mr. Adams dealt with the history of a single line of railroad running from New York City to Lake Erie, and covering, with its branches and dependencies, only 773 miles of road. This narrative has to do with a modern consolidated railway or "system," extending westward from Toledo to Chicago, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Omaha, made up of vast and intricate networks of roads in the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, and embracing in the height of its power and expansion nearly 5,000 miles of road. The Wabash thus becomes typical of the great changes in railway development which Mr. Adams predicted in 1869. Almost the only constant factor common to Erie and Wabash will be found to be Mr. Jay Gould. Whether his methods only have changed since 1869 will be seen as our story progresses. Other changes and contrasts, for better or worse, will also appear.

Like Erie, the history of the Wabash Railway has been a checkered one. Its original stem or root was a corporation chartered in 1853, under the laws of Ohio, which, under the name of the Toledo & Illinois Railroad Company, built a road 75 miles in length from Toledo, Ohio, to the State line of Indiana. This line, under other corporations, was extended within the next six years from the Indiana State line to Meredosia and Naples, Illinois, and thence to Clayton and Carthage, in the same State, and in the early part of 1865, the several corporations now referred to were consolidated under the name of the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway Company, under the laws of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a process usually called the re-organization of 1877.

Thus, between 1853 and 1865, no less than ten corporations had existed, which at last constituted by successive consolidations the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railroad Company, owning 483 miles of railroad. These lines thus consolidated may be described as the trunk or backbone of the future Wabash system.

A new process or form of increment now began, the process of absorption—acquisition by purchase of new lines, alternating with foreclosures, consolidations, and re-organizations of old and

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new lines. In this process, the Decatur & East St. Louis Railroad Company, chartered in 1867, with its acquisitions, was consolidated with the Toledo, Wabash & Western, which, in turn, in 1876, was succeeded by a new corporation, called the Wabash Railway Company, separately chartered in each of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the three corporations were then consolidated, in 1877, under the same name, and became possessed of all the property and rights of the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway Company, and in 1877, 1878, and 1879 the Wabash Company acquired the property and control of three other railroad corporations.

The eighteen corporations, with their lines as now specified, covering 847 miles of railroad, made up what was called "The Wabash System East of the Mississippi River."

With the North Missouri Railroad Company, a Missouri corporation chartered in 1851, as the stem, between 1872 and 1879, by purchases, leases, and consolidations, twelve original corporations, with about 679 miles of railroad west of the Mississippi River, in the States of Missouri and Iowa, became merged into the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railway Company, making what has been called "The Wabash System West of the Mississippi"; and in the latter year the Wabash Railway Company, owning the lines heretofore described east of the Mississippi, was consolidated under the laws of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, with the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railway Company, under the name of the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway, the name under which it has since existed. The two systems, now united into one, the product of the union of thirty separate original companies, owned or controlled at this time about 1,526 miles of railroad.

But the process of absorption did not stop here, and between 1879 and 1883 the railroad property of thirty-eight other corporations, including two bridge companies, lying in the States of Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, was acquired by purchase, lease, consolidation, and re-organization. During this process the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway Company and its predecessor and constituent companies had built branches and completed or extended its acquired lines, so that in June, 1880, it owned and controlled a total railroad mileage of 3,518 miles. After June, 1880, it acquired 1,296½ miles more, making

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a total mileage in 1883 of 4,814½ miles, besides two bridges,—one over the Mississippi and one over the Missouri,—extensive independent terminal facilities in connection with other companies, and large rights of use of other lines connected with its own.

The foregoing may be called the *corporate* history of Wabash.

The task of exhibiting, even in brief outline, the *financial* history of Wabash is a most difficult one, and it can be done only summarily within the limits of a single magazine article.

Recurring to the re-organization and consolidation of 1877, we find that prior to that date and contemporaneously with the re-organization, the various original companies and their successor consolidated companies had made sixteen separate mortgages, to secure bonds to the amount then outstanding of $38,179,475.50, which were variously described as "firsts," "seconds," "consolidated" or "consol," "gold," "equipment," "chattel," "funded debt," "graduated," and "graduated scrip certificates;" that between 1877 and 1879, when the Wabash system east of the Mississippi was completed in the first instance, the Wabash Railway had issued and assumed an additional amount of first mortgage and income bonds of $9,274,400; that between 1851 and 1879, when the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railroad Company became consolidated with the Wabash Railway, the lines west of the Mississippi had issued $16,292,500 of bonds.

December 31st, 1877, the company reported its funded debt as $20,311,557.60; December 31st, 1879, as $35,267,250. The common stock of the company was then reported as $20,000,000, and the preferred stock as $20,000,000, a total of capital stock and funded debt of $75,267,250.

December 31st, 1881, the funded debt *and* capital stock were reported as $75,464,550; and December 31st, 1882, the funded debt *alone* was reported as $70,937,854.15; the common stock as $27,140,500, and the preferred stock as $23,034,200—a total of *capital stock and funded debt* of $121,112,554.15, an increase of funded debt and capital stock, in one year, of $45,648,004.15. December 31st, 1883, the funded debt was reported as $76,394,075, and December 31st, 1884, as $76,434,834, the capital stock remaining as reported for 1882, viz.: $50,174,700.

The great stages, or articulating points, in the progress of Wabash will be seen to have been the reorganization and consol-

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idation of 1867, which resulted in the Toledo, Wabash & Western; the reorganization of 1877, which resulted in the Wabash Railway; and the consolidation of 1879, which resulted in the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific. Each of these events was the signal and occasion of the issue of general or "consolidated" mortgages, called, respectively, the "consolidated sinking fund" mortgage of 1867, for $15,000,000; the "general" mortgage of 1879, for $2,000,000; and the "general" mortgage of 1880, for $50,000,000. Besides this, in nearly every instance, the acquisition of new lines was signalized by new mortgages on single roads and by "divisional" mortgages, so called, on groups of lines, or roads forming a continuous line. Of the latter phase of railroad mortgage "development" the Wabash presents nine examples.

In 1883 there were on the Wabash lines thirty-one mortgages, not including "real estate notes" and "funded debt" obligations, amounting to over $3,000,000, most of the separate lines being covered by successive mortgages at least four deep and in some cases seven deep.

The "general" mortgage of 1880 deserves further notice. It bears date of June 1st, 1880, recites as its objects "the retiring of specific liens on sections made by corporations formerly owning such sections," "the discharge of indebtedness for equipment assumed by the company," "the extension of the railroad by additional lines," and "the completing, etc., of the road of the company," and provides for the issue for these purposes of $50,000,000 of forty-year six per cent. gold bonds. This mortgage covered all the lines and leasehold interests of the Wabash at its date. Of these bonds, there were issued and sold prior to January 1st, 1884, $17,000,000, but it does not appear that a single prior bond was retired or paid by means of this issue. About $11,500,000 of these bonds was "marketed" in Great Britain, at a price of from 95 to 80 per cent.

In May, 1883, came the mortgage known as the "collateral trust" mortgage, by which was mortgaged, for $10,000,000, a large number of bonds, stocks, and "other securities," the property of the Wabash. Under this mortgage were issued before January 1st, 1884, bonds to the amount of $5,671,000. This mortgage took the form of a tripartite contact between the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific, the Mercantile Trust Company of New York, and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway, the

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Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad having been leased April 10th, 1883, to the last named company for 99 years.

December 21st, 1883, was executed the last of the Wabash mortgages, called the "Indemnity" mortgage of the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific, to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern, to secure all advances which might be made by the latter to the former company under the lease just referred to.

It appears that there were paid three "quarterly dividends" on the preferred stock of the Wabash, May 15th, 1881,—within less than a year after the issue of the general mortgage bonds,—and again August 15th, 1881, and November 15th, 1881, of 1¼ per cent. each,—amounting to $1,036,539: and under the influence of these manipulations the common stock was carried up from 29 in November, 1879, to 60 in June, 1881, while the preferred rose during the same period from 59 to 96¼.

The *personal* history of the Wabash will next be noticed.

During 1876 and part of 1877 the Wabash was in the hands of ex-Governor J. D. Cox, of Ohio, as Receiver. In 1878, James A. Roosevelt, of New York, was President, A. L. Hopkina being Vice-President, with Solon Humphreys, Cyrus W. Field, A. L. Hopkins, and Charles Ridgeley, of Illinois, among the directors. In 1879 Cyrus W. Field was President, Hopkins Vice-President and General Manager, Messrs. Sidney Dillon, Solon Humphreys, Cyrus W. Field, Jay Gould, and Russell Sage being five of the eleven directors. In 1880 Solon Humphreys, of New York, was President, and Hopkins Vice-President, with Humphreys, Gould, Dillon, Sage, Ridgeley, and James F. Joy, of Michigan, as directors. In 1881 Jay Gould was President, Hopkins First Vice-President, with Humphreys, Gould, Dillon, Sage, Ridgeley and Joy as directors. In 1882 Gould was President, Hopkins Vice-President, Gould, Sage, Dillon, Humphreys, Ridgeley, and Joy directors. In 1883 Gould was still President and Hopkins Second Vice-President, with Gould, Sage, Dillon, Humphreys, Ridgeley, and Joy as directors. During all these changes General Wager Swayne was the general solicitor and counsel of the Wabash down to 1883.

Reference has already been made to the fact of the lease of the Wabash to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern in 1883. The Iron Mountain was at this time, and before the lease of the Wabash, leased or owned by the Missouri Pacific. By the former lease, therefore, the Missouri Pacific became the real lessee of the

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Wabash, a fact then carefully announced to the world as "giving practical control of the Wabash to the Missouri Pacific." * From 1880 to 1883, and even earlier, Jay Gould was the president and chief stockholder of the Missouri Pacific, and from 1880 to 1884 Sidney Dillon, Russell Sage, and Jay Gould were directors.

The Iron Mountain (St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern) is a railroad running south from St. Louis to Texarkana, Texas, with branches to various points, making up a total mileage of some 900 miles. From 1881 to 1885 Jay Gould, Russell Sage, and Sidney Dillon were directors of this company; and from 1882 to 1885 Jay Gould was its President; and from 1883 to 1885 A. L. Hopkins was its Second Vice-President. It will, therefore, be seen that in each of the three roads,—the Wabash, the Missouri Pacific, and the Iron Mountain,—Gould, Sage, and Dillon were directors; and that from 1881 Jay Gould was the President of each of the three roads. It is also a well authenticated and undisputed fact that Gould was during these years the largest single stockholder in each of these roads, and, with his associates, Dillon, Sage, and Humphreys, owned and controlled a majority of the stock of each.

The Wabash having been leased to the Iron Mountain, which in turn was leased to the Missouri Pacific, on May 21st, 1884, a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the directors of the Wabash was held in New York, at which were present, as appears from the minutes of the meeting, Messrs. Gould, Humphreys, Hopkins, Dillon, and Sage. At this meeting a notice was read from the Iron Mountain Company to the Wabash, stating that, under the lease of the latter to the former, the lines of the Wabash had been operated for a period of thirteen months, during which time the net earnings had been insufficient to pay the interest, rentals, taxes, and other fixed charges of the Wabash, and that the Iron Mountain Company had elected to advance the deficiency under its lease of the Wabash. (It should here be stated that under the lease of April 10th, 1883, of the Wabash lines to the Iron Mountain Company, it was provided that if the net earnings of the Wabash should not be sufficient to pay its interest and other fixed charges, the Iron Mountain Company might elect to advance the funds required for that purpose, and such advances

* Poor's Railroad Manual, 1883, 1884.

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should become a preferred debt and lien upon the lines of the Wabash; but if the lessee should not elect to make such advances, the lessor might thereupon elect to terminate the lease.) The notice above referred to further stated that the deficit for 1883 exceeded $2,000,000, and that thus far in the year 1884 there had been no material improvement, and notified the Wabash Company that the Iron Mountain could not undertake to continue its advances, proposing that the holders of the junior bonds of the main lines of the Wabash should fund their coupons for such a period as would enable the business "to grow up to the expenses and interest charges." The Chairman, Mr. Gould, then stated that immediate action was necessary in consequence of this notice. Whereupon Mr. Sidney Dillon offered a preamble and resolution to the effect that notice, as heretofore specified, having been received from the Iron Mountain, it became necessary to ask the holders of some of the junior mortgages of the main lines of the Wabash, and of such leased and acquired lines as had not earned interest on their mortgages, to fund their coupons until such time as the earnings might permit resumption of payment; and it was further, "*Resolved*, That in view of this necessity, and for the protection of the property, steps be taken at once to secure the appointment of a receiver." "On motion of Mr. Gould, voted that a committee of two, consisting of Mr. A. L. Hopkins and Mr. J. F. Joy, be, and the same hereby are appointed to carry out the necessary details embraced in the foregoing resolution."

Thereupon, on the 28th day of May, 1884, six days after the meeting just referred to, General Wager Swayne arrived in St. Louis with a bill in equity, or complaint, on behalf of the Wabash Company, which was verified by A. L. Hopkins on the 22d day of May—the day following the meeting already referred to—and presented the same, with an application for the appointment of Solon Humphreys and Thomas E. Tutt, as Receivers, to Judge Samuel Treat, District Judge of the Eastern District of Missouri, a gentleman who had for some time been eligible, by reason of age and length of service, for retirement from the bench. It has also been credibly stated, without contradiction, that General Swayne carried to St. Louis, with the bill of complaint, the bond, already signed, as Receivers, of Humphreys and Tutt, the bond being signed in New York by John T. Terry, a partner of Humphreys, and by Russell Sage and Sidney Dillon, as sureties. For some reason,

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Judge Treat, although readily assenting to the appointment of receivers upon the application of the Wabash Company, and also assenting to the selection of Humphreys and Tutt, directed General Swayne to submit the application to the Circuit Judge, David J. Brewer, who was appointed Judge in 1884, and who is a nephew of Mr. Cyrus W. Field. General Swayne accordingly visited Leavenworth, and obtained from Judge Brewer privately the order of appointment of Humphreys and Tutt as Receivers, dated May 29th, 1884, the order further providing for the immediate surrender of all the lines of the Wabash to the Receivers, and likewise directting the Receivers to pay all rentals, accrued or hereafter to accrue, upon all leased lines, and for the use of terminals and rentals upon rolling stock. Messrs. Humphreys and Tutt entered upon their receivership upon the 29th day of May, 1884.

It will be seen at this point that this receivership was ordered by Judge Brewer upon the application of the debtor company itself before a default had taken place, and without notice to any creditor, and that one of the Receivers had, in 1880, been the president of the company, and from 1879 to 1883 continuously a director. It is also an undoubted fact that Mr. Humphreys had been a large stockholder as well as an influential director during all these years. Mr. Tutt, who was the president of a bank in St. Louis, was at the time of his appointment a director of the Wabash, as well as a stockholder. Neither of these Receivers was, in any proper sense, a railroad man, and neither of them had had practical experience in the managemet of railroad properties. Thus this immense property, called the Wabash system, was instantly thrown into the hands of receivers upon an application made solely by the Wabash Company itself, before default, without the knowledge or notice of any one, except the immediate actors; and one of those most largely responsible for the conduct of its affairs for the previous six years was appointed one of its Receivers, in association with another person, whose connection with the Wabash was only a little less intimate and responsible.

General Swayne has stated in testimony given before the Master at St. Louis, that he applied to the trustee of the general mortgage to take steps to secure the property, and that the trustee declined to do so because no default had then taken place. Thereupon he himself applied on behalf of the Wabash Company. He further stated that the selection of Receiver was previously approved by

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the "trustees of the general mortgage, and by the trustees of more than half in amount of the underlying liens." The records of the Wabash case contain no other evidence of the knowledge or assent of any party interested except the Wabash Company acting through their counsel, and it is certain that the bondholders, who were the real parties in interest, knew nothing of the movement for receivers until their appointment was announced.

In the bill of complaint of the Wabash Company, upon which the appointment of receivers was made, it was stated that the Iron Mountain Company was then operating all the lines of the Wabash under the lease of April 10th, 1883; and the bill proceeds thereupon to make the following statement: "That the Wabash Company also issued within the last two years its promissory notes for very large sums of money, and in order to provide means for the meeting of its expenses, and the keeping of its road in successful operation and completing its lines as aforesaid, *induced a number of persons of high financial standing* to become indorsers of said notes, and by means of a credit given by such indorsements was enabled to negotiate said notes for value, and received the proceeds thereof, and that there will be due on said promissory notes at maturity about the sum of $2,200,000." The bill further stated that a floating debt had accumulated against the Wabash, "amounting in the aggregate to about the sum of $4,784,145.01." The bill further set forth that it was very important that receivers should be appointed "to protect the indorsers upon said promissory notes." The notes here referred to bore the indorsements of Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Sidney Dillon, and Solon Humphreys.

On May 30th, 1884, the day after the appointment of receivers, the Wabash Company filed its petition in the Circuit Court at St. Louis, setting forth that "certain promissory notes of the Wabash, amounting to about the sum of $2,300,000, are outstanding, and will fall due from time to time, and that said promissory notes are secured by hypothecation of a large number of collateral trust bonds of the Wabash, and further by the indorsements of sundry individuals of high credit and financial standing." It further sets forth that the Wabash had exhibited "to the attorneys for the defendants . . . . the names of the indorsers of the said promissory notes; but does not embody the names of said indorsers in this application, because of *the personal incon-*

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venience and injury which might result to them from the publicity thereby given to their business affairs. Complainant, however, *for the sake of entire frankness,* does hereby disclose that Solon Humphreys, one of the Receivers appointed herein, is an indorser upon several of said promissory notes." And on May 31st, 1884, the court, Samuel Treat, J., entered the following order: "It is ordered that the Receivers herein shall protect, by their obligations as Receivers, the promissory notes of complainant corporation falling due May 31st, 1884, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of $223,333, which notes are secured by the individual indorsements and the collateral trust bonds referred to in the original bill of complaint, and in the petition filed herein May 30th, 1884," and also all similar notes thereafter maturing. Subsequently, by an order dated June 18th, 1884, upon application of the solicitors of the Central Trust Company of New York, the foregoing order was modified by adding thereto the following: "This order shall not be construed as establishing a priority of lien in favor of such Receivers' obligations, or of obligations of said railway company now outstanding, but such priorities shall be subject to the further direction of this court."

Thus it appears that the first action of the Receivers, as well as of the court, was the conversion of the notes of the Wabash, indorsed by Gould, Sage, Dillon, and Humphreys, into Receivers' obligations, the original notes being, of course, only ordinary unsecured debts of the company, and it is worthy of special notice here that the published plan of Wabash re-organization provides for $3,000,000 of *preferred* debenture bonds, to be used to cover the *liabilities of Gould, Dillon, Humphreys, and Sage, on account of the indorsed notes already referred to.*

It has already been stated that the Iron Mountain Company had informed the Wabash, May 19th, 1884, that the deficit in the operations of the Wabash under the lease for the year 1883 exceeded $2,000,000, and that under the lease the Iron Mountain had elected to make advances for that amount. As the Missouri Pacific was the lessee or owner of the Iron Mountain, the advances for this deficit were an obligation of the Missouri Pacific. Accordingly, June 6th, 1884, upon the application of Humphreys and Tutt, Receivers, the court at St. Louis made its order directing the receivers to issue certificates "to an amount not exceeding $2,000,000, for the purpose of paying wages, taxes, mechanics'

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liens, and for supplies," these Receivers' certificates being made, in terms, a first lien on all the property of the Wabash Company.

On the 12th day of March, 1885, the Central Trust Company of New York, the trustee under the general mortgage of the Wabash, filed a bill at St. Louis for the foreclosure of that mortgage; and this bill was subsequently consolidated with the original bill of the Wabash Company asking for the appointment of receivers; and the foreclosure proceedings were continued until January, 1886, when a final decree of foreclosure and sale was entered. By the terms of this decree, the entire properties of the Wabash were ordered sold, subject to prior mortgages and to the Receivers' obligations, which latter the purchaser was decreed to pay as the court might thereafter order.

The sale took place on the 26th day of April, 1886, and the entire property of the Wabash was purchased by a committee consisting of James F. Joy, a director of the Wabash and President of the Detroit Terminal Company; Thomas H. Hubbard, attorney of the Central Trust Company, of New York, and the representative of the English holders of the general mortgage bonds; O. D. Ashley, Secretary of the Wabash Receivers; and Edgar F. Welles, of Hartford. This committee, in the summer of 1886, proposed to the holders of the bonds issued under mortgages prior to the general mortgage of 1880, that they should fund into 5 per cent. bonds of the new Wabash Company all their accrued interest and reduce the rate of interest for the future upon their bonds from 7 and 6 per cent. to a uniform rate of 5 per cent. This reduction being in the interest solely of the junior or later securities of the company, particularly the general mortgage and collateral trust bondholders, as well as the stockholders of the company, was naturally refused by many of the prior bondholders, upon whose bonds at that time interest for over two years was due and unpaid.

One of the most noteworthy performances of the Wabash junto now occurred. Gen. Wager Swayne, who had been and still was the solicitor of the Wabash, but who now appeared as counsel for the purchasing committee, repaired to St. Louis, and there obtained from Judges Brewer and Treat the two following orders, dated September 21st, 1886:

"*Ordered*, that from any surplus in their hands, arising from the operation of the property in their charge, over and above

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necessary operating expenses, the Receivers herein are authorized, *as to them may seem meet,* to pay in whole or in part such interest coupons of bonds secured by mortgage superior in right to the mortgages foreclosed herein, *as they may be requested to pay by the purchasers at the sale* made under the decree herein, their successors or assigns,"

"*Ordered,* that in case the purchasers at the sale under the decrees herein, or their successors or assigns, shall become possessed, by purchase or otherwise, of any claims or demands against the property in charge of the Receivers in this cause, they shall be subrogated to the rights of the original holders of said claims or demands."

Subsequently, General Swayne, at the hearing before Judge Gresham, avowed his sole responsibility for these orders, virtually acquitting both court and clients of all complicity therein. These orders were characterized by one of the counsel for dissenting bondholders at the same hearing as "the highwayman's clutch on our throat, the robber's demand, 'your money or your life!'" and Judge Gresham felt constrained to say of them that "the boldness of this scheme to aid the purchasing committee, by denying equal rights to all bondholders secured by the same mortgages, is equaled only by its injustice." Seeing no prospect of payment, or of a proper provision for payment, according to the terms of their mortgages, the holders of some of the prior mortgage bonds, in October, 1886, applied to the Circuit Court for the Northern District of Illinois for the appointment of separate and new receivers for the Wabash lines lying east of the Mississippi. Upon this application a considerable amount of testimony was taken, upon which the final arguments were made before Judge Gresham in November, 1886. This testimony before Judge Gresham disclosed many noteworthy facts, among them these: that neither Humphreys nor Tutt had any personal qualifications for their positions as Receivers; that in point of fact neither of them during the receivership, from May, 1884, to November, 1886, had given attention to the practical management of the Wabash properties, one residing in New York City, and only occasionally seeing the property, and the other, with even less railroad experience, confessing on the witness stand that he had never once inspected the road, except as he had passed over it as any other passenger would have done. The evidence likewise showed

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that Tutt, just before his appointment, and after he was aware of the purpose to appoint him, being the president of a bank in St. Louis, to which the Wabash owed a large sum of money, forced the company, by reason of its wish to secure his appointment, to pay the debt, and then accepted his appointment; that Humphreys, besides his interest as one of the indorsers of the company's notes for over two millions of dollars, was interested in the common and preferred stock of the company, as well as in the collateral trust bonds and in what is known as the Chicago terminals, and that in pursuit of this latter interest he, while Receiver, had resisted the claims of the bondholders to a mortgage lien on that property.

The evidence also showed that the mines and property of the Ellsworth Coal Company were adjacent to the Wabash Railway; that Gould, Humphreys, Dillon, Sage, Hopkins, and Ridgeley, all directors of the Wabash, were stockholders of this coal company; that Humphreys and Tutt, as Receivers, up to September 1st, 1886, paid to this company nearly $500,000 for coal, besides allowing rebates of freight on coal shipped by the coal company of over $80,000; that the regular tariff freight was $2 per ton, which was reduced to $1.30 for this company's coal, after which 30 cents per ton was allowed as rebate. The auditor of the Receivers also stated under oath that the Receivers had paid out $3,260,519.23 from the Receivers' earnings, on account of liabilities incurred prior to the receivership, and that $500,000 more was due and unpaid; that there had accrued of interest, during the receivership, $4,390,000, which was due and unpaid, and that there was $3,200,000 of unpaid Receivers' obligations, making a total indebtedness accrued, during thirty months of the receivership, of $7,590,000, to pay which the Receivers had then in hand about $290,000.

Upon this evidence, of which the foregoing is but a fragment, the Circuit Court at Chicago, in December, 1886, removed Humphreys and Tutt from their positions and appointed Thomas M. Cooley, of Michigan, as sole Receiver of all the Wabash lines lying in the Illinois circuit. The same order was at once made in the Ohio circuit, and thus all the Wabash lines east of the Mississippi passed out of the hands of Humphreys and Tutt. During October, 1887, Judge Brewer ordered the payment, to Humphreys and Tutt, for services as Receivers, of the sum of $140,000 *on account*.

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Such is the history of the rise and fall of Wabash.

The story now told needs only brief epitomizing, thus: The Wabash system arose from the absorption and consolidation of sixty-eight separate original corporations; when thus consolidated the system owned and controlled in 1883 about 4,814 miles of railroad in the six States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa; its capital stock was increased between 1877 and 1883 from $40,000,000 to $50,174,700; its funded or mortgage debt was increased during the same period from $20,311,570.60 to $76,394,075; three quarterly "dividends" were paid on the entire preferred stock in 1881—the year after the issue of the general mortgage in 1880—amounting to $1,036,539; within two years and a half after these "dividends," the company made default on the interest of all its mortgage debt; in May, 1884, the entire property was, on the application of the debtor company alone, secretly placed in the hands of Humphreys and Tutt, two of its former directors and officers, men without any special qualifications for railroad management, and who had been part of the directorate which had brought the system to bankruptcy; immediately after the appointment of Humphreys and Tutt, the Circuit Court of the Eastern District of Missouri directed the issue of $2,300,000 of Receivers' obligations to "protect" the indorsements of Wabash notes by Gould, Dillon, Sage, and Humphreys; the same court, six days later, directed the further issue of $2,000,000 of Receivers' certificates—made a first lien on all the Wabash property—to pay so-called Wabash indebtedness, which, by the terms of its lease to the Iron Mountain, which had been, in turn, leased to the Missouri Pacific, was the indebtedness of the Missouri Pacific; as the result of two years and a half of this receivership, there was paid out of the Receivers' earnings, on account of liabilities incurred prior to the receivership, $3,260,519.23, leaving $500,000 still due; as the grand result of the receivership of Humphreys and Tutt, interest has accrued to the amount of $4,390,000, all due and unpaid, and of Receivers' obligations, $3,200,000, a total during two years and a half of $7,590,000, with $290,000 of cash in hand; the property being sold to a purchasing committee of which the chairman, Joy, was a former Wabash director, and another member, Ashley, was the Secretary of the Receivers, a demand was made of the prior mortgage bondholders to fund into new Wabash bonds their past due interest

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and to reduce the interest on their bonds for the future from six and seven per cent. to five per cent.; upon application of prior mortgage bondholders, the United States Circuit Court at Chicago removed Humphreys and Tutt for misconduct as Receivers, and appointed a new and separate Receiver for the Wabash lines east of the Mississippi River.

In closing his "Chapter of Erie," Mr. Adams indulged in this observation: "History never quite repeats itself, and the old familiar enemies may even now confront us, though arrayed in such a modern garb that no suspicion is excited. Americans are apt pupils, and among them there are probably some who have not observed Fisk and Vanderbilt and Hoffman without a thought of bettering their instructions. . . It is not pleasant to take such views of the future; yet they are irresistibly suggested by the events which have been narrated. They seem to be in the nature of direct inferences."

Whether all this would apply with equal or greater force, if the names of Gould and Humphreys and Brewer were substituted for the Erie trio, the present writer leaves to his readers to say, as well as what other views may be "irresistibly suggested by the events which have been narrated."

The "withering satire" of Juvenal gave this warning nearly 1,900 years ago:

> "Dedit hanc contagio labem,
> *Et dabit in plures;* sicut grex totus in agris
> Unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci,
> Uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva;
> *Foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu;*
> *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*"*

*Sat. II., 714.

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SUNDAY IN CHEROKEE LAND.

It is not from fear of hostile bullets, but of stray bullets and drunken bullets, that the United States army is expected to form itself into a hollow square, inclosed in which, minors, paupers, women, and idiots go blithely to church. A very lively, straggling, and unmilitary hollow square it is—the fair female minors and the blue-coated young idiots developing a constant tendency to stray off by themselves. A by-path, if anything can be a by-path when there is no other, leads across green sward, through wood and ravine, and pits that are now but dust bins, but in wet weather are pools of mud, past a low, dark, closed, and silent cabin standing sombre on the edge of the wood. My nearest comrade, an officer's wife, stays me a moment before its low-browed gloom: "A little while ago, only a few weeks, one Saturday afternoon, a negro boy came to my house and seemed very earnest that I should employ him I had then no need of another servant, but he was so eager to come that I told him he might come to me on Monday. He was still not quite satisfied, but wished to come that day, and I presently consented. In fifteen minutes I heard a shot and he was killed. They said the bullet whistled past the baby carriage, in which the baby was riding, but I think not. The poor boy (he was but eighteen and not very bright) had incurred the displeasure of his employer by resisting the latter's attempt to cheat him out of his wages. When he came to me he was flying for his life, but I did not know it. Had I known, of course, I should not have hesitated. He came here and they followed him. He was standing on a chair when they reached him. They prodded him with their guns, trying to make him go out. For a time he refused, thinking, probably, they would not venture to kill him openly in the house; but they kept at him, and presently he darted down and made a rush across this path for the woods yonder, with the bare possibility of escape. They shot him dead before the woods could shelter him."

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Poor hunted human creature! How frowning, haunted, hopeless looks the black wood! From the Strong Fort, planted on the green plateau, the most inspiring view has been this wild, encircling forest, where the old and the new are yet struggling for the mastery. Seeming unbroken forest and unvexed river, I yet know where the patient Jesuit fathers have planted the seed for future empire, and await now its germination. Yonder is the white gleam of the Methodist church, and on the horizon I can see the outline of the orphan asylum. And so, though the dark, fierce blood is not yet tamed, I knew that the fishers and hunters of men were abroad on the river and in the wood with weapons of Christian warfare, and the light above that beautiful wilderness was light from Heaven.

But now, whenever I look down upon its bewildering beauty, it changes into the gloomy refuge of murder. Assassins are lurking in those green aisles. In every mossy hummock and bright flower, under every green tree, and staining the blue, stainless water, I see the red trail of blood. The one mark of improvement is that the murderers do lurk. Murder has ceased to be an occupation, an honor, and is become a crime. My Cherokee brave admits that too many sympathize with crime to make justice easy. "If the white man is mean to them they *will* shoot him," says my lady squaw, and the half laugh accompanying the words is not so cold-blooded as it might seem. "They hide, and their friends feed them and help them escape the officers. Two of them came here one night. I saw them leaning against the gate, talking to my boy. He came in sorrowfully. 'It does seem hard, Ma,' he said, 'that I can't invite them into the house and give them a supper—boys that went to school with me, and sat on the same bench!'

"'No, my son. Our hospitality is unbounded, but you did right. This house was never made to harbor murderers.'"

The church building stands on the brow of a hill opposite the fort, with a well-wooded valley between. White paint, green blinds, ample windows, long settees, and a plain and decent interior make a seemly New England showing.

It is Easter Sunday and communion Sunday. The communion service is simply and decorously set forth, and a cross of wild flowers pays tribute to the day. A reed organ stands near the pulpit. We enter first, but the congregation rapidly and gently

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enough fill and almost crowd the room—a swart crowd. Many of the women are in calico sun-bonnets and gowns; the men in whole and homely garb, with no unnecessary display of *lingerie*. Mothers have taken the entire family, even to the baby in arms, whose voice occasionally utters a sharp protest; but generally the small Indian does credit to his traditional character.

One and another of the women, before the service begins, come up to us with friendly inquiry, showing not only intelligence, but sympathy.

The organ leads the congregation through the familiar hymn:

"One sweetly solemn thought
Comes to me o'er and o'er,
I am nearer my Father's House
Than I have ever been before."

The notes rise full, strong, not soft or musical to my ear, but infinitely pathetic. Partly, perhaps, it is the mood of my own mind. For on that day, one most dear, who had been held in thrall and under threat, had broken the invisible but dreadful bonds, and breathed the long, full breath of life. We thank God blindly, for we know not what, when we thank Him for life, yet the deep love of life is of His planting, and the faces of friends are sweeter than life.

"I am nearer my Father's house
Than I have ever been before."

Sufficient to that day without day its joys; but here the supreme pleasure is to have friends within call, at least, until the years shall gently loosen all ties and earth fall softly from the soul as petals from the rose, which is surely the Divine way. Thus, O God! Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done!

So to my grateful ear the hard, heavy voices rise with a melody of Heaven, if not of earth. Stalwart and swarthy, with firm hold scarcely loosened on bow and gun, still they are in a house of worship, orderly, tranquil, led or listening under the influence of that sweetly solemn thought. With however stronger a flavor of the soil, these earth-born men are children of one Father, blindly seeking him—not less truly because blindly. Looking intent upon these Sphinx faces, I think of those to whom it was given to be the earliest repository of our Word of God—wherein differed they from these? How much more did the old Jews know of the

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arts of life, of civilization and refinement, the amenities of home, the decencies of worship, the sacredness of liberty, the service of woman, the intellectual and spiritual life than these men know? Did they know as much? Must not one go far, far lower down the valley than this before he meets the source whence those springs of healing flow? And as I sit in a dream the song ceases, and I am almost startled to hear the minister announce for his reading a strain addressed to the old Hebrews. It is like a voice out of the past answering my thought.

The words have for me at least a new meaning. And then he announces as his text that most radical of pronunciamentos, which at one breath swept away an outworn ecclesiasticism, and announced the entrance of the world for evermore upon a spiritual career—a pronunciamento which as yet is only partially understood, but under which alone the battles of the church are won: *There ariseth another priest who is made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.*

Understandest thou what thou readest? No more than the synagogues of Judea or the pulpits of New England. But the words are there—words of the unseen Universe—and some fragrance of their celestial origin floats into the atmosphere of our souls.

Leaving the rhetorical present and looking upon the cold historical past, I am obliged to admit that the minister preached not over well. He was a "visiting clergyman," a white man, and in "store clothes;" but it was pretty poor preaching. It would have been poor at home, where we have everything to make up for poor preaching and may mind it less. For this remote wilderness, where it constitutes so large a part of what goes to mental improvement, it was still more poor. It was stiff, wooden, as if measured off from a theological hornbook, instead of being flexible to these waiting souls. It was uttered in artificial monotones, drawl and hurry of utterance, rise and fall of undulation regularly recurring, and a steady, meaningless, wearisome tramping back and forth across the platform. Yet through all the imperfection of oratory, and the limitations of the earthly medium, through the very poverty of words and argument, ever and anon came flashing *the power of an endless life.* These men, the pitiful pipe and gun and whiskey laid aside, were held for that one hour to personal responsibility and accountability to a Supreme

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unseen Power, to a Tribunal of infinite Justice and perfect righteousness, to an insight which no sin can escape, and an omniscience which no cunning can evade. And as the minister, with rude but real dramatic skill, pictured the contrasted farewell to their dying child of the Christian mother and the unbelieving father, the latter bowing again and again in despairing embrace, "Farewell, farewell my child, farewell forever!" the former with equal grief, but all shining with hope, "Farewell, farewell my child, but *not* forever!" the breathless awed silence of that dark-thronged room told that those hidden hearts were touched, the common humanity responded. We were in our Father's house. However faultily preached, however imperfectly understood, nevertheless these Indians had heard the one Gospel which must save the world—the power of an endless life.

It may be as my soldiers said, that they went straight back to pipe and gun and whiskey cup, but they cannot wholly escape that one hour of silent attention, in which they were brought face to face with the power of an endless life.

The Cherokees were once slave holders, and there is still among them a considerable negro-Cherokee element. After leaving the Cherokee—and white—church, where the half-breed blood seems largely to predominate, we went to the colored church. As we approached the turbulence and noise were so great that it seemed as if mobocracy and mischief must be brewing. But even a coward can face the foe when the United States army floats the flag over his head, and thus a coward dared the hullaballoo and went in. The room was boarded and bare, like a barn, the darkness made weird and palpable by a few candles. At first nothing could be seen but endlessly revolving and commingling circles of half-outlined dusky figures; a dark, restless, moving mass of noise and confusion. In an instant two or three shadows materialized, darting out of the mass to set chairs for all our party, a Christian courtesy which shamed me out of my momentary apprehension; a bit of spiritual order which relieved the whole scene from apparent chaos. Presently one could discover that a large number, chiefly women, were standing in front of the settees which served for pews, while others, chiefly men, were seen pacing in tumbled procession up and down the aisles, all singing at the top of their voices, some one thing and some another, but managing to mass in together on a refrain, and accentuating time with heavy

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foot beat. But all the emotional brogans could not overpower a certain thrill of music, and the difference between these soft, swelling, vibrant voices and the hard, inflexible Indian notes we had just heard, was most marked. Why the singing should ever have ceased it is difficult to determine, for the song had no logical beginning or end. Still it did cease and an old man knelt in prayer—a real prayer it seemed—not a perfunctory service.

"O Lord!" he implored in tones not only, but with an affluence of diction born, it would seem, of a profound sense of need, "O Lord! double up our resolution wid a threefold double!" And in the darkness of the room and the deeper moral darkness enshrouding us, I seemed myself to get a needed glint of heavenly assurance in his confident outlook to the endless life: "A few mo' ups and downs and we shall clap glad hands on de sunny banks ob deliverance."

The preaching here, also, was bad enough—very bad; vulgar, eliciting many a laugh apparently from the very sinners at whom it was directed; exciting distrust even regarding the character of the preacher; and yet, thinking it over, what he preached was, however vulgarly, righteousness.

"Now heah, yoh ought to be the humblest people under the sun—jess a little while ago slaves, jess a few years ago slaves, and now yoh's a-walkin' aroun' tryin' to see how big yoh can be, jess tryin' to be like white folks. Yoh ought to behave yerself, not be 'roun drink'n and swear'n! Yoh ought to come to meetin' and try to please your wife. Don't yoh want to please your wife, hey? 'Pears to me yoh don't speak up ver' lively. P'raps it's because I say 'wife'; maybe it ought to be '*wives*.' Maybe yoh got more'n one wife. I've got one wife. Brought her here with me to-night out open. One wife's enough for me. One's more'n *I* can support. 'N yoh ought to be ashamed o' yohselves, 'n turn 'roun and do de right ting.

"Now, what do yoh s'pose I'm heah foh? Do I want to *foce* yeh into de Kingdom? Do yoh s'pose dat what de Lawd want—to *foce* yeh into de Kingdom? No. He want yeh to do jess what yoh like. He set before yoh good and evil. Take jess what yoh like. Some ob yoh have company, and yoh set de table jess like white folks. Yoh put on nice tings, pies and cake an' all sorts o' nice tings, and yoh put on one corner ob de table de cawn cake, an yoh say to your company, 'now help yohsef.' Yoh can take

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de pie an' cake and de nice tings, or yoh can take de cawn cake. Yoh dont *foce* nobody to take noting. Jess so de Lawd. I tell yoh what he sarve ye, an' yoh take it or not, jess yoh like.

"S'pos'n yoh don't! What den? What de Bible say come after it? Well, some folks, dey done call it *de place ob darkness.*

"And some dey call it 'de *onknown.*'

"And some dey call it," with a pause before the word and an indescribably contemptuous prolongation of the *a,* which embraced not only the New Departure folks, but the whole troop of revised versionists and old professors in its intense, one-syllabled disgust. "And some dey call it—'Haid!'

"But David," and here his voice rose into a roar of triumphant accord with the unimpeachable orthodoxy of the Psalmist, "But David he call it—HELL!"

Professor Smyth need expect no recruits from that quarter, but no more need Professor Phelps. "Haid" is not good Ethiopian-Cherokee.

And yet the truth was preached. This old ex-slave touched sin with a coarse hand, but it was sin that he touched. And it was not a dead sin, a remote, generic, intangible sinfulness, but a crime against law, a sin against society, which his reference revealed as too common among the Indians—a relic of barbarism, a relic of the beast. He touched it coarsely, as he needs must, but not compromisingly—with unmistakable condemnation. The words and manner of the man were those of a buffoon, and he clamored openly for money. But what he preached was humility, temperance, the domestic virtues and graces, purity of word and life—that is good morality. As for his theology, I have heard worse enforced with all the gifts of oratory and learning. Free will, the reasonableness of religion, the inherent claim of righteousness, an unknown but terrible penalty of sin, the test of a spiritual standard, responsibility to a righteous being who cannot be cajoled—the power of an endless life—surely this, so far as it goes, is sound theology. And it goes a long, long way.

So when the box came up I changed my customary Northern quarter to a half, and dropped it in with a good conscience, wishing it might further a better service, yet feeling that even such service was better than the heathenism which it had supplanted. Box by courtesy. The local attendants marched up the centre

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aisle and deposited their tribute in person; but even the United States army had not nerve enough for that, so a small black boy was pressed into service, and passed around his cap to our group—rather stumblingly, as one not used to the work, and not quite sure of his ground.

"Do you want the change?" he whispered, with what seemed almost an echoing, certainly an embarrassing loudness, halting before my piece of silver as it lay in the depths of his headgear, and quite breaking in upon my meditations over the sermon and the surroundings. No, little black brother, honest apostle, I do not want the change, and I sit rebuked before your modesty and scrupulousness with my shallow reflections on your heathendom. For what simplicity of integrity and consideration is this? How large would a contribution have to be in a New England church before the contributor would be given the benefit of a doubt?

Yet, I think, perhaps the unwonted visitors have lent an unexpected vitality to the contribution box, for when the notices are given out there is evidently a new lease of life to the meetings. "Be a meetin' to-morrow night. Some of ye's expected this would be the last. P'raps to-morrow night will be, but can't tell. Have one to-morrow night, shoah! Can't stop the train when she's goin' full speed down grade!"

Yet I do not like to think that the water of life is carried to these shriveled and panting souls only in such very coarse and, I fear, unclean, earthen vessels. If missionary work is merely a matter of taste, there is nothing to be said. Perhaps, in any case, there is nothing to be said. A human life is a human life, and one may surely choose whether he shall further it and minister to its spiritual growth in the old world or the new, at home or in the wilds of the sea or of the land. But is not our first duty always to the nearest of kin? Has a man even the right to clothe his neighbor across the way while the children of his own blood are frozen?

The Indians whom we have displaced, the negroes whom we have enslaved—both our neighbors, our house mates, indeed, our brethren living under one national roof with ourselves—do we not owe them first duty over Chinese, or Hindoo, or Micronesian? Christianity speaks to them through the United States army; they recognize its equity as well as its might. The effect is the effect

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of law upon lawlessness—tranquillizing, humanizing. Cannot the army of the churches be brought to bear upon them with equal force, with deeper, more radical influence? If it is they that are sick who need a physician, the need is here; while beyond and above the individual need is the country's need. What has been subdued by force must be penetrated with intelligence and virtue. There is no life worth living for man or nation but the life of reason, which is righteousness.

GAIL HAMILTON.

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VICISSITUDES OF THE DRAMA.

AFTER a period of learned indifference and ignorant abuse, and owing to causes flattering alike to the honesty and impartiality of modern opinion, and honorable to the actors themselves, a new kind of attention is being directed towards the theatre. The night of Puritanism is giving way before a dawn of enlightened freedom, and in this awakening the Drama is not a sluggard. The old pleas for the "defense" of the stage are well nigh abandoned. An earnest and loving inquiry is being made by scholars and sincere moralists to learn whether it is not possible to make the Drama an art in harmony with the other forces for man's improvement which illustrate our century's progress.

That the Drama is an evidence of civilization is no longer questioned. In all times, whenever men have gone into communities, putting on the garb of peace and uniting in families and homes, the theatre has formed a part of the public plan, evidencing the romance, the heroism, the poetry, the conquests, or the decline of those communities. Schlegel declares that a high and flourishing theatre testifies to the culture of the nation which fosters it. A slight examination of Greek and Roman history will prove the truth of this. In the palmy days of the Athenian, when his city was the arbiter of taste, the home of painting, sculpture, poetry, and history, the dramatist and the actor were united in the most perfect sense with the masters of these sister arts for the adornment of Athenian culture. In the decline of the Roman Empire, the early church, in endeavoring to expurgate all Pagan literature, outlawed the theatre. The Drama shared in the general debasement of morals during the reigns of the emperors. In the Middle or Dark Ages no public theatres existed. The old Pagan and Greek dramatic literature had fallen into alien hands in the East, and into the close clutches of the church in the West. All cultivation and learning were held by

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the hierarchy, and within this exclusive circle the Drama was preserved in the house of its enemies, until the revival of learning and the enlargement of man's freedom in the Renaissance. Then, as if refreshed by a long sleep, the Drama sprang into new life and being, and under the enlightened patronage of the Medici divided with Angelo and Raphael the attention of the learned. The barbarous Turk, casting out the descendants of Pericles and Plato from the houses of their fathers, banished also the remnants of a literature which had, in part, survived the long night of superstition, barbarous wars, and alien beliefs. In the flood of glory thus deluging the Italian republics, the fragments of the Grecian drama came to bear their testimony to the civilization of their era, and to share the glory of the greatest sculptors and painters of antiquity. As orator and actor the name of Æschines emerged to claim a part in the new allotment of honors, side by side with the philosophers, historians, and dramatists of his native land.

From this point onward to the days of the early English drama, the ascent is gradual, but certain. The debt which Shakespeare and his brother dramatists owed to the Italian renaissance of the Drama can be found in the plots of nearly all the great tragedians, and the vivid southern coloring of much of the dialogue of the Elizabethan writings. Historians assume that the glory of the Elizabethan period eclipsed all that preceded it. The Wars of the Roses and the struggles which involved the whole nation in the ways of strife were succeeded by an era of peace and good will through the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth. During the succeeding reign of Henry VIII., through the liberality of the learning-loving Wolsey, under a régime of material prosperity and freedom from war, the way was cleared for the advent of those literary giants, who sang the glories of their native land in an improved language, and imaged the progress of England's prosperity in celebration of the deeds which had placed her upon her proud eminence. In all the paths of learning and of thought a revival had taken place. While Shakespeare carried on the traditions of the Drama beyond the wildest dreams of the early Greek writers, Bacon was giving to mankind a scheme of philosophy as perfect as that of which Plato only dreamed. Again was seen the intimate union between the great co-workers in art and literature

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which had subsisted in the best days of Athens. Shakespeare, the worthy successor to the inheritance of both Æschylus and Æschines, communed with Raleigh, Essex, Bacon, Burleigh, and his Queen, as the Greek had done with Pericles and Phidias. What Marlowe had outlined as the possibilities of our language in versification the genius of Shakespeare perfected and made enduring. Upon the boards of an insignificant inn yard the English dramatist offered with simple adjuncts the fruits of his imagination. A race of actors was soon created worthy to represent and embody the glorious conceptions, and Richard Burbage, the original of so many of Shakespeare's great characters, the companion, partner, and friend of the greatest of living or dead writers, was worthy to sit by the side and share in the triumphs of his most illustrious master. Uninterrupted by sinister events, and suffered to flow on unchecked, it is impossible to predict the result of that movement which had made of all language poetry, and of all people critics. But the dark cloud of Puritanism which had hovered over the last days of Elizabeth's reign, ominously full of baleful promise, burst at last, and overwhelmed at once literature, art, and science. As the early church had at her advent outlawed the theatre, so the victorious Puritan trampled and destroyed the work but lately so prosperous. There was this difference, however, in the two events. In the case of the Roman, a love of learning and a reverence for the past had treasured in selfish secrecy the possessions of the outlawed, so that when the dawn came they were easily reclaimed. In the other total annihilation was the plan. The despised actor, who had mimicked the false face of the hypocrite and held him up to scorn in the theatre, was denied even the rights of citizenship. Before the great works of the Elizabethan dramatists had been secured to posterity in perfected editions, the hand of the iconoclast had thrown down the press and scattered the leaves into the air. Under the sway of the Puritans, the scholar and the artist found no place. Passion and imagination took on the form of fanaticism in religion and austerity in literature.

Blind Milton, whose soul dwelt in the divine companionship, knew too little of man's needs and pleasures to have championed the fallen stage. He only comes to us out of that time to prove that the love of learning had not expired. No poet, save sad Cowley,

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the least inspired of singers, found utterance in that night of worse than Cimmerian darkness. One sign, and one only, and that least in keeping with the tyranny of Puritanism over the realms of thought, emerged like a bow of promise to the suffering arts. Liberty of the press, freedom of utterance, began to make way despite even the suspicious guard of the watchful Puritan. Thus the element which has always aided the utterance of the philosopher, guided the instinct of the patriot, and winged the thought of the poet—perfect freedom—was born in the last death agonies of the commonwealth. With the dishonored bones of the dead Protector were scattered all the Dead Sea fruits of his reign. Hypocrisy laid aside her tiresome mask and joined in the general license which came in with the restoration. The Drama and her traditions had been deserted for well nigh thirty years, the calling had been pursued under a ban, secretly and furtively, an act of Parliament made the actor a vagrant, and when the day of restoration came, the stage bore its part in the general jubilee. An era of such wild and unparalleled infamy succeeded as would have made Tiberius blush. A shameless court, a debauched nobility, a contemptible theatre, shared the infamy of public approbation. Much of the literature of Charles is absolutely too loathsome for examination. Unrestrained by any check from the past, uninstructed by any of the old traditions, a new stage and a new drama were created from which the esteem of all good men was withdrawn as from a leprous thing. This is what Puritan watchfulness and tyranny in morals had bequeathed to the last days of the seventeenth century.

With the downfall of the House of Stuart, and the decorous reign of William, the stage speedily showed signs of a healthy revival. Again, as in former times, she united with the writers, the scholars, and the men of taste in Anne's glorious reign in upholding what was noble and pure. The comparison between the theatre of Charles and that of the closing year of Anne will be found highly creditable to the dramatist and the actor. Still suffering under the stigma which the Puritan had affixed to his calling, the actor did not despair of the future. The life of Betterton is worthy to be compared with that of any gentleman of his age, while his genius shed undying lustre on his calling. With the coming of Garrick and the direction which his genius gave to the stage a new era begins.

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A great actor, a great scholar, a skillful manager, a poet of no mean ability, he brought back to the theatre the works of the earlier dramatists. He created a school of acting of which our modern style is only the amplification. As a critic he edited many works which would have otherwise been rejected. As a poet and dramatist he wrote many of our best comedies and plays, while as a gentleman he carried into the drawing-room of princes the bearing which won not only respect for himself, but honor for his calling. In less than a century from the day of Cromwell's accession to the advent of Garrick, a seeming total annihilation of the Drama has been succeeded by as baleful a revival, and at last by a triumphant purification. The stage had in turn reflected the license of the restoration, the decorum of the court of Anne, and the splendor of the age of Johnson.

The liberal form which thought has been gradually assuming during the past two centuries has cleared the path to a better feeling for the theatre as an institution, arising out of man's necessity for entertainment. Much of the crudity which belongs to the representations in the time of Garrick had been softened and refined under the sway of the Kembles, while it remained for William Macready to lead the stage up to the high plane of excellence at which we now find it. From the many vicissitudes to which the theatre has been subjected, it will be seen that without organization within her ranks, without cohesive brotherhood in one allotted path, she has emerged on all occasions, not only uninjured, but absolutely fresher and stronger than before. Her many trials may not have entirely purified her, but they seem not to have impaired her vigor. Undaunted by the attacks of the Puritans, undismayed by the ostracism to which bigotry and ignorance have often condemned her children, she displayed at all times a vitality and a persistency which only grew stronger by repression. In all other branches of art and literature a guild feeling had inspired the timid in their dark hour with hope for the future. The Drama had boasted no such bond of union between its fellows. Within the theatre the actors had only such a community of interest as might be broken by selfishness or dissolved by caprice; without, their fellowship bore only the impress of mutual inclination. Under no condition of prosperity or adversity had the actors of England, up to the era of Macready, debated any plan by which their art could be benefited by union, their own places assured by

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a permanent organization. With high hope always for their beloved art, with trusting confidence that such a future would come to her, they yet saw no way by which they could advance the work. The theatre, as an organized body, had never looked abroad for help. It had depended upon general patronage for its support. The liberality of Northumberland might relieve the embarrassments of John Kemble as a personal act of favor to his friend, but the general welfare of the arts, the grouping together of the diversified interests of the stage, were not thought of. In spite of this want of union, the English theatre has shown some of the best elements of the sturdy Saxon character. While each age has been conspicuous for the individual prominence of some great actor, the general excellence which would result from an organized and acknowledged school has been in some measure sacrificed. In France, where the theatre has been for a long period the especial care of the whole nation, an *esprit de corps* has grown up, elevating the standard of acting and of criticism under this rule. The genius of Le Kain, of Talma, of Mars, and of Rachel is not so far exalted above the general plane as to be phenomenal. The ground is so fruitful of average harvests that expectancy eclipses wonder. Under the fostering care of the nation which subsidizes and sustains the Drama as a living illustration of the manners of the time, the actors, great and small, pay to their art mother an affectionate and constant devotion, sacrificing at all times personal interest and personal pride to the welfare of the whole.

The Theatre Français, the grown-up child of Molière, dating back to the days of the Grand Monarque, represents approved and worthy aristocracy. The actors are the elected chiefs in one of the greatest of the arts, their fitness their only claim to their station, their presence there an assurance of merit. In England no such plan is possible, none such will ever exist. Subvention dates from the days of patriarchal government, when the ruler was not only lord of the bodies, but of the taste and habits of his people. Under the more democratic form of England's laws all the arts are nourished only by the inclinations of the people unswayed by royal prejudice, unguided by regulated forms. A system by which the best fruits of the French conservatory might be gained, unsupported by government, is within the possibilities of the English drama, and to some such plan the actors of to-day

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are looking hopefully, and even seeking the way by which to accomplish their purpose.

While we shall watch with interest this movement abroad, we may be sure that we have no cause to be idle here. In our own land the glories of the English stage have been reflected with undiminished lustre. The seeds which were blown by the breath of the Puritan from the green fields of England were wafted to our shores to germinate in a congenial soil. Against the stage in the early days of our national life, the old prejudices were arrayed as strongly as ever; the jealous Puritan had not forgotten the narrow school within which he had been nurtured and he frowned upon the theatre as darkly as ever his ancestors had done. But with the general awakening of liberal thought the Drama became emancipated from the bondage it had suffered, and after a career of hardly a century the stage of America ranks with its older and more experienced sisters in the old world. Sprung from the same sources, we have inherited the same methods, we live under the same laws as the English theatres have followed, but conservatism no longer cramps our energies or limits our endeavors. We have led the van of improvement in our model theatres. We have drawn alike from the English and Continental literature in our plays. We have created an American style of acting. But with our rapid growth, with the great demand for material which has sprung out of our increasing population, the necessity for organization has become more and more pressing. While the *personnel* of the theatre threatens to decline in character under the strain of demand and the absence of organization, with the enormous resources at the disposal of the American drama, it will be strange if some plan cannot be formed which shall not only succeed in meeting the increasing demand for actors, but will also raise the standard of merit. All the signs of the times point towards a higher office for the theatre, and a large usefulness.

Divines and scholars hopefully regard the future of the theatre as a grand helpmate in the education and culture of the nation. A willing hand will be given to any scheme which promises to give us an improved theatre, to elevate the standard of the art. The munificent support given by the people of England to Henry Irving, the loving estimation in which our own Edwin Booth is held by our own people, the sympathy which the public seems eager to extend to any of those who carry their ermine un-

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stained, are indications of the popular feeling. It is the duty of the actor to meet this feeling at least half way, to give his hearty aid in any movement which looks to the improvement of the theatre, and by his own life to echo the good thoughts which are born of hope in the general heart. Many schemes suggest themselves, but the length of this article prevents their mention here. The simplest plan will be the best, the plan which leavens our ranks from below. We must, by a caution in the admission of unfit or unworthy members to the novitiate, create an *esprit de corps* which will be jealous of the purity of the whole order and cause each actor, high or low, to share the artist feeling. We can thus lay a foundation deep and broad, by which we shall not only preserve what is good of our traditions, but render it impossible for future evil to creep in. All true lovers of art will aid us, a liberal public will gladly sustain us, and we shall have shown the lovers of the theatre that we are not indifferent or careless where the interests of the Drama are concerned.

LAWRENCE BARRETT.

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THE POLITICAL EFFECT OF THE MESSAGE.

To the close observer of events there has been in the phenomenal public career of Grover Cleveland nothing more marked than his swift development into a politician of the highest order. In the progress of every great reform it is probably inevitable that there should be much cant. The enthusiasm of zealots has, as doubtless no other force could, wrought a very great and a very needed change in the administration of our public affairs, but it has tended at points to destroy what it essayed to build up. In making the term politician odious, it has crippled the hand of the man of affairs, who alone can work out the results of theory.

Eight years ago President Cleveland was a not particularly conspicuous lawyer of Buffalo, with probably little political ambition, and certainly no apparent prospect of a political future. He was a remarkably conscientious lawyer though, and devoted himself to his law books largely to the exclusion of reading matter of any other sort. When, for instance, he was nominated for Governor of New York in September, 1882, it may reasonably be asserted that he had never read a book upon political economy, and that the intricacies of the tariff question, as applied to this new country, with its entirely novel requirements, were to him as mystical and unsought as the resultants of the dreams of Swedenborg. That was six years ago. The other day he wrote a message concerning the tariff, upon the broadest lines of the great subject, and expressed his views in such simple and straightforward fashion as implied the fullest knowledge, and, apparently, the closest study of every authority. It is he only who knows a subject *à fond* who can write of it simply.

Nor had Grover Cleveland occupied himself up to that date of eight years ago with the study of men, except as they presented themselves to him in groups of twelve. Following that date he was made Mayor of Buffalo. The broader and new opportuni-

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ties seemed to him at once an inspiration. His communications to Councils became familiar to us all in that heated contest of 1884. They were appeals, over and beyond Councils and Rings and Political Machines, to the great mass of the people. And he carried the people with him.

So, when he was named as a candidate for Governor in the chaotic state of political affairs that confronted the people of New York in 1882, this quality of mind and indifference to the political machine, as opposed to the interests of the people, made him easily the candidate of the party. Samuel J. Tilden, the ablest politician this country has ever produced, was already a recluse at Greystone. It is doubtful if Mr. Cleveland knew him, or his processes of mind and action, except by general hearsay; but, whether or not he had learned the lesson of political success from that able leader, he has conducted himself upon that leader's one line of conduct—that what is right, with absolute certainty wins in the end. As Governor he followed this course of action with straightforward determination, and appealed at every exigency from the Machine of the Legislature and of the Metropolis to the million of citizens. His quality as politician it was that taught him what the people wished, and he responded to it with acute intelligence and entire courage.

Inaugurated President, Mr. Cleveland, at the beginning, departed somewhat from his instincts as leader. He was elected as the exponent of certain principles. In the sense of executive officer as to the mere machinery of government he was expected to be "the President of the people, not of a party." But, as representative of the expressed desire of the people for a change from a policy and methods of which they disapproved, it was his duty to see to it that by every legitimate means the change was made permanent. As a Democrat and representative of the principles of the Democratic party he could, loyally to himself or to Democratic principles, make no compromises whereby those ideas of government could be overthrown by the triumph of the opposing party. Robert Toombs, impulsive always, and misguided through a fateful period, but always a pure patriot at heart, was addressing a gathering of his fellow-citizens after the disastrous result of the election of 1872. "They say," he cried, "that the Democratic party is dead. When you come back from the funeral, my friends, take not off your habiliments of mourning, for you will need them at the

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death-bed of the Republic." A partisan and hostile postmaster in the city of New York in 1884 would have brought about the defeat of the Democratic party. In the selection of his officials of great influence throughout the country, therefore, it seems an axiom not worth discussion to those who believe in the principles of the party that a Democratic President should choose lieutenants for the influential public offices entirely and with enthusiasm in accord with the principles he represents. As a loyal representative of those principles, he could but select men of such character as would serve the people with as entire fidelity in official matters as they should serve their party in political.

But, again in touch with the expressed sentiment of a majority of the people, President Cleveland has re-asserted himself as the exponent of their thought and the director of their action. It seems now that nothing short of his death or a misadventure hardly to be considered in view of his past will prevent his being again the candidate of the party. Yet his tariff message, only a few weeks back, was a bold and direct proclamation of a principle which, although truly the very foundation rock of the party, has been in effect denied by it for nearly a quarter of a century. As leader of his party, then, and politician, did he err in the matter of expediency? As statesman, expressing clearly, forcibly, and truly the cardinal principle of his party, no Democrat can deny him the place.

Assuming the paramount importance of continuing the control of the Democratic party in the general affairs of the Government, the President would have erred in springing the issue on the country on the eve of a Presidential campaign if the people were not ready to settle it definitely, or did not wish for its immediate consideration. Was he mistaken in believing them ready and desirous to settle it now? When Congress convened on the first Tuesday of December he was reasonably sure of a renomination upon existing issues, and of a re-election. He seized the opportunity of his first message to the new Congress to present the issue of tariff reform as the one issue of the time. He made the question the sole subject of his message. Had his party been unwilling or afraid to second him, and to adopt the issue he had offered them, his act could readily have been accepted as his own political suicide. The leaders of his party in State Governments and in Congress had been, to all appearances, radi-

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cally divided on this issue. There was, indeed, an outcry at the first. Yet to-day there is but one conspicuous man within the Democratic ranks who is recognized as irreclaimably hostile to the President's policy, and the leaders elsewise have declared themselves, with an almost extraordinary unanimity, as his enthusiastic supporters. There can be no valid explanation for this unanimity except that their constituents have warmly indorsed the outspoken declaration of the President that tariff reform is the one great issue of the day.

The truth seems to be that we have all been hopelessly groping in the dark during this last decade as to the real sentiment of the people on this subject. In our elections, except in sporadic instances, it has not been made an issue. Democratic platforms have had a conventional declaration for tariff reform, but Democratic leaders afterward ignored the declaration except when they apologized for it. The platform of 1880 did express itself vigorously, and General Hancock was defeated in this decisive State of New York by a plurality of 21,000 votes; but the party leaders in that case, having committed themselves to an economic revolution, with extraordinary lack of judgment as well as of courage absolutely failed to justify the faith that should have been in them. They feebly retreated their lines before the enemy's attack without so much as a shot in reply. A change of 11,000 votes would have carried the State of New York for Hancock, and would have elected him President. The party suffered all the consequences of its declaration upon the tariff issue. Not a vote that was to be lost because of it was not cast against the party in November, 1880. There is little doubt, in fact, that, if a manly and effective defense of its declaration had been made, the Democratic party would have won the 11,000 votes in this State.

More absorbing issues occupied the attention of the people in 1884. Yet there were significant facts in that election which have not been brought to the attention of the public, but which have a most material bearing upon the question now before us. It was an almost unknown episode of the closing days of the campaign that Governor Cleveland made a speech in New Jersey which very distinctly foreshadowed his tariff message of last month. New Jersey is a State which the timid Democratic managers have believed most sensitive to the question of tariff reduction. It was Senator Randolph, of that State, who procured from General Han-

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cock the tariff letter which probably did more than all else to compass his defeat. Yet New Jersey gave Grover Cleveland a substantial majority four years later, after he had expressed himself with perfect clearness and vigor upon the issue which Senator Randolph had so timorously deprecated.

The State of Wisconsin had been a Gibraltar to the Whigs and Republicans since it was admitted to the Union, until the election of three years ago. It gave to Blaine a plurality of 15,000 votes. It gave to Garfield a plurality of 30,000. There was, to all seeming, but one reason for this change. The chairman of the Democratic State Committee in that campaign was Mr. Anderson, an enthusiast on tariff reform, as well as a man of the greatest energy and power of organization. To the National Democratic Committee Wisconsin seemed hopeless. No attention whatever was paid to the welfare of the party in that State. If I am not mistaken, not a dollar of money, a single Democratic speaker, or half a hundred documents were sent into the State. Mr. Anderson was left to conduct the campaign as best he might, and in his own way. Enthusiast that he was, he tried an experiment. In some fashion he obtained the means to have printed great quantities of tariff reform documents. With these he flooded the State from the Illinois border to Lake Superior. Tariff reform was practically the only issue in that State, and the Republican plurality of four years before was cut down by just one-half.

In a less degree, but still a very marked degree, the issue was also the question over in Michigan. When James F. Joy nominated Blaine in the Chicago Convention in 1880, he assured the convention, with some enthusiasm, of Michigan's loyalty to the Maine chieftain. "Yes," answered Senator Conkling, with fine scorn, when he nominated Grant afterward, "any Republican can carry Michi*gan!*" In the campaign of 1884 Michigan also was left to its own devices by the National Committee. Chairman Barnum, protectionist to the degree that James G. Blaine himself is, owned large tracts of mineral lands in the Upper Peninsula, and the company that he controlled employed thousands of men. To a request of the State Committee that he should write a simple letter declaring that, in his opinion, the business interests of the country would not suffer by the election of Grover Cleveland, he returned, so the Committee assured

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me at the time, no answer. The Committee made tariff reform its chief issue in that campaign. Ex-Mayor William G. Thompson, of Detroit, and others canvassed the State from limit to limit, and tariff reform was the burden of their speeches. It happened that, in the performance of my own professional duties, I accompanied Mr. Thompson on a part of his tour. The town of Flint is the centre of what, I was informed, was the largest wool district of the country east of Colorado, and of the largest lumber district in the United States. Mr. Thompson was introduced to a great gathering that filled the largest hall in the town, by the candidate for Congress, who was making his own canvass upon a strictly low tariff platform, who had voted against the Converse bill restoring the duty on wool, and for the Morrison bill, admitting lumber to the free list. That candidate, Mr. Winans, was re-elected to Congress in the following election, and never in my own professional experience have I known more enthusiasm in a public gathering than greeted Mr. Thompson's demand for a radical reduction of tariff duties. What was the reason for this apparent anomaly in a community supposed to be wedded to protection? I do not venture to say with authority, except to express the belief that the party managers have made a mistake in assuming that fair discussion anywhere of a cardinal principle of the party would result in losing votes, instead of gaining them.

It is certainly not without significance that in three Congressional districts, assumed to be strongly protective, outspoken tariff reformers were returned at the last election. John Jarrett, the protectionist organizer from Pittsburgh, was sent into the Erie district to oppose the election of Wm. L. Scott. Mr. Scott appeared himself at the Jarrett meetings, and asked for a division of time. When granted he met Mr. Jarrett's arguments seriatim, and made tariff reduction practically the sole issue of his canvass. Upon his counsel and information the President largely relied in preparing his message, and Mr. Scott, as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, will assist in making the bill to largely reduce tariff duties. So John E. Russell was elected in the Worcester district of Massachusetts, and Leopold Morse from Boston, both taking strong ground for tariff reduction. It is also noteworthy that Republican Congressman Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, is as outspoken for tariff reform as is Chairman Mills,

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and that many Republican Senators and Congressmen from the West and Northwest are very doubtful as to the expediency of committing the party, as Mr. Blaine and Mr. Sherman would have it, to the policy of protection, regardless of the surplus. Senator Allison, of Iowa, has definitely declared that "the necessity for a revision of the tariff is great," and Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, refers almost with contempt to Mr. Blaine's proposition to distribute the surplus among the States. "None of the propositions," he said in an address to the Providence Board of Trade, "to collect a revenue with a view of dividing it among the States or distributing it by extraordinary expenditures, are, in my opinion, defensible," and added: "It is substantially agreed by all parties that the revenue must be decreased."

But the more significant fact still is the attitude of Republican newspapers of great circulation and influence. The Chicago *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press*, the Boston *Advertiser*, and the Providence *Journal* take direct issue with the party leaders. Col. A. K. McClure, of the Philadelphia *Times*, himself popularly supposed to lean toward the dominant idea in Pennsylvania, said to an interviewer the other day:

"On a tariff issue as presented by Mr. Cleveland in his message, Massachusetts and Illinois will be about as certain to vote for Cleveland as Missouri, and the approval of the message by such representative Republican journals as the Chicago *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Press*, the Boston *Advertiser*, the Providence *Journal*, and the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, should admonish the Republican leaders that our present oppressive tariff policy cannot be maintained and that the party attempting to maintain it will be defeated."

The Democratic press is practically unanimous in support of the President, and the fact that a newspaper of such great circulation as *The World*, for instance, finds hardly a dissenting voice among its hundreds of thousands of Democratic readers to its earnest advocacy of tariff reduction, is particularly significant as to the sentiment in the party.

On this issue, indeed, it is the Republican party that will be on the defensive in the coming campaign. An extortion of over one hundred millions a year from the pockets of the people will be hard to defend. The Republican leaders seem as hopelessly divided now as were the Democratic leaders four years ago. "I know of no intelligent protectionist or Republican," said Senator Aldrich, "who is not in favor of reducing the annual revenue to such a sum as shall be required to meet the current expenses and

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the maturing obligations of the Government." Yet Mr. Blaine, in all probability the next Republican candidate, would reduce taxation only to the amount of the twenty millions or so collected upon tobacco. Opposed himself to free ships for Americans, he actually used as an argument against the Democratic party that "if to-day we had by any chance even such a war as we had with Mexico our enemy *could procure iron-clads in Europe* that would menace our great cities with destruction." Why then should we not be allowed to defend our great cities by iron-clads also freely purchased in Europe?

The manifold and absurd inconsistencies of the tariff will be sufficient material for Democratic speeches before November. The President has made the issue and the party has to all seeming accepted it with unanimity and enthusiasm. The lines are sharply drawn, and it seems only necessary that the organization on the issue which was utterly lacking in 1880 and in 1884 should be made complete for 1888. As I write, a dispatch from Chicago appears in the afternoon papers. It says: "The Executive Committee of the Democratic State Central Committee (of Illinois) met in this city yesterday. The organization of a Northwestern association of tariff-reform Democrats was urgently advocated. From information already received, it was announced that the States of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Kansas, Indiana, and Missouri were fully prepared to join a movement of this nature, and it was decided that such State should be represented by one State Committeeman, to be hereafter selected, whose duty it should be to collect and collate such information on the tariff question as should most thoroughly instruct the workingmen of the country upon this most important question." This is the work that, undertaken as vigorously in every State and Congressional district as is the organization of the Protectionist propaganda, may give the party the electoral votes of Massachusetts, and perhaps three Western and Northwestern States.

One thing, however, is supremely necessary: A protectionist should not again be Chairman of the National Democratic Committee. The President has not only given the party an issue: he has furnished it a leader, and he and his friends will doubtless see to it that the party is not again handicapped by its lieutenants.

BALLARD SMITH.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

FOOT-PRINTS OF CREATIVE POWER.

DR. HENRY M. FIELD, in his "Last Word to Col. Ingersoll," says that he is as much compelled to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being as Robinson Crusoe, when he saw the print of a human foot on the sand, was compelled to believe that some human being had visited his island. Why then does Dr. Field express himself thus: "So when I discover in the world (*as I think I do*) mysterious foot-prints that are certainly not human, it is not a question whether I shall believe or not; I cannot help believing that some Power greater than man has set foot upon the earth?" I have italicized the words to which I wish to call attention. Dr. Field only says here that he *thinks* he discerns mysterious foot-prints. But if Robinson Crusoe only *thought* he discerned the print of a foot in the sand, he could not have felt certain, though he might have feared or hoped—considered it more or less probable—that a human foot had made that mark. Dr. Field must, therefore, either recall those words, or his whole argument falls to the ground. It is *not* impossible not to believe in a thing the main proof of which is only a matter of more or less probable supposition. Of course I freely grant that we all often believe on evidence that is far short of demonstrative; and if in the present case Dr. Field believes on such evidence, let him say so, and not claim that his belief is forced by such evidence as that which confronted Robinson Crusoe. The latter did not say: "I think I see a human foot-print," but "I see a human foot-print." There is a world of difference between the two declarations.

W. D. LE SUEUR.

II.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT BY ELECTRICITY.

I CHEERFULLY comply with the request of the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for a brief statement of the work of the Commission of which I have the honor to be Chairman.

The New York State Commission on Capital Punishment has summed up its labors in a voluminous report which, after reviewing the history of judicial executions, closes by recommending the substitution of electricity as a means of death in place of hanging. The result of the application of electricity is not simply to produce instantaneous death; the effect of the current upon the heart is so completely to disorganize the muscular tissues as to prevent the possibility of resuscitation. The report suggests changes in the methods of execution which will, if adopted, do away, it is believed, with much of the glorification of murderers which is apt to attend our present mode of executions. The Commis-

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sion have also made some suggestions as to deterrent effects, which, it is believed, will merit the approval of the Legislature. The report is quite extensive, and annexed thereto is a bill designed to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commission.

ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.

III.

A PLEA.

COLUMBIA, large hearted and tender,
Too long for the good of your kin
You have shared your home's comfort and splendor
With all who have asked to come in.
The smile of your true eyes has lighted
The way to your wide open door;
You have held out full hands and invited
The beggar to take from your store.

Your over-run proud sister nations,
Whose offspring you help them to keep,
Are sending their poorest relations—
Their unruly, their vicious black sheep.
Unwashed and unlettered you take them,
And lo! we are pushed from your knee;
We are governed by laws as *they* make them,
We are slaves in the land of the free.

Columbia, you know the devotion
Of those who have sprung from your soil;
Shall aliens born over the ocean
Dispute us the fruits of our toil?
Most noble and gracious of mothers,
Your children rise up and demand
That you bring us no more foster brothers
To breed discontent in the land.

Be prudent before you are zealous—
Not generous only, but just;
Our hearts are grown wrathful and jealous
Tow'rd those who have outraged your trust.
They jostle and crowd in our places,
They sneer at the comforts you gave;
We say, Shut the door in their faces,
Until they have learned to behave!

In hearts that are greedy and hate-full,
They harbor ill will and deceit;
They ask for more favors, ungrateful
For those you have poured at their feet.
Rise up in your grandeur, and straightway
Bar out the bold clamoring mass;
Let sentinels stand at your gateway,
To see who is worthy to pass.

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Give first to your own faithful toilers
The freedom our birthright should claim,
And take from these ruthless despoilers
The power which they use to our shame.
Columbia, too long you have dallied
With foes whom you feed from your store;
It is time that your wardens were rallied
And stationed outside the locked door.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

IV.

REMARKS ON BALLOTING AND COPYRIGHT.

ALL people interested in purifying our politics must realize that one of the questions that demand immediate attention is the substitution of some system akin to that obtaining in Australia for our present methods of printing and distributing ballots at the expense, and by the agents, of the various candidates and political organizations. The ballots should be printed by the State, a sufficient guarantee being required of those who ask that a given set be printed, so as to prevent a needless multiplication of candidates with little or no support; and they should be distributed without the intervention of ticket peddlers and the like. Each voter should have the various sets of ballots put into his hand, and then should be obliged to rely on his own knowledge in choosing out the individuals for whom he wishes to vote. This, by the way, would provide a very practical "educational test," not only for the illiterate, but also for very many of those who pride themselves upon being "intelligent voters," and who are, nevertheless, afflicted with a singularly dense and profound ignorance of all that goes on in their own districts.

Anent another subject, permit me to record my regret that when we seemed on the eve of at last winning a victory for honest copyright, Mr. Pearsall Smith should have started in to make what I trust will prove to be an ineffectual diversion in favor of the enemy.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

V.

GENIUS AND IDIOCY.

NEARLY every lover of music who can command the requisite entrance fee has within the past few months listened to the performance of a lad not yet in his teens upon the most elaborate of modern musical instruments. Without comprehending the rules of composition, he composes correctly, he improvises, he interprets, and, in short, does an amazing number of things difficult for any one, and which he has no business to do according to any established precedent. It is no wonder that every one with music in his, and especially in her soul, should be enchanted by his unaffected ways, childlike simplicity, and wonderful natural endowments.

Contemporary with this boy, though his senior by many years, is another musical genius. He played the piano by instinct at as early an age as did young Hofmann. With infinitely fewer advantages he developed a facility quite as wonderful in its way. Blind he is too, and born a slave with a black skin. It is not our purpose to compare Blind Tom with the gifted young Pole, but the two afford such a parallel of oppositions that the contrast and the likeness provoke reflection.

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Here are two human brains, both endowed with what we call genius. In one case it was developed amid the congenial surroundings of an ancient European city—a musical centre of some repute. In the other case it simply "growed," like Topsy The two infantile brains are so nearly alike that no one can say which of them is, or was, originally superior to the other. But the white boy possesses what we call reason, while the black boy is practically an idiot. How narrow is the margin that differentiates the two intelligences. A trifling protuberance on the inside of the negro's skull may make all the difference between them. In his uncared for babyhood he may have fallen down the kitchen stairs and bumped that extraordinary head of his just hard enough to knock the sense out and leave the music in. A like accident might have wrought a like change in the case of young Hofmann, or, indeed, might have had a reverse effect, eliminating the music and leaving only the common sense. The child of European culture would then never have been heard of, and the half-witted negro, slave-born, only two or three removes from an African kraal, would have remained almost, if not quite, the most remarkable instance of unadulterated, uninstructed, musical genius that the world can show.

ADRIAN REXFORD.

VI.

MOHAMMEDANISM IN AFRICA.

No little excitement has made itself felt among a small circle of religious writers and their readers in the English periodical press lately concerning the respective usefulness of Mohammedanism and Christianity in civilizing the African heathen. The ball of controversy was set in motion by Canon Taylor, of York Cathedral, who produced a paper going to show that not only were Mohammedan missionaries more alert and successful in Africa,—successful in making converts,—but their converts, when made, were decidedly better, even mentally and morally, than the Christian converts are. So marked was the contrast drawn that it amounted to saying that Mohammedanism in Africa is an almost unmingled and beneficial success, while Christianity there is an undoubted failure.

Of course so startling a statement from a Christian minister of high rank, who must ardently wish that what he utters on the subject should have proved otherwise, could not be otherwise than exciting. Probably his going out of the way, too, to deliver a certain amount of *obiter dicta* in direct and voluntary eulogy of the morality of Mohammedanism was not calculated to make his general utterance particularly palatable. Canon MacColl, therefore, as well as others, have set up replies to this view of religious and moral evangelizing in Africa, and what is curious about them is that, mingled with much asperity of statement, they partly admit what Canon Taylor was frank enough to say.

Mr. Bosworth Smith, for instance, who is supposed to be an expert (if that word is allowable here) on the qualities and tendencies of Mohammedanism, says, in his *Nineteenth Century* paper, that Canon Taylor has "rushed with headlong heedlessness" upon dangerous statements. But then he adds—and this is the curious part of his position—that "the views which he thrust upon a sensitive and excited audience were, as nearly as possible, identical with those which, thirteen years ago, I had promulgated in my book, 'Mohammed and Mohammedanism.'" His chief objection to them seems to be that they were slightly exaggerated by Canon Taylor, and were offered to a "sensitive and excited audience."

In one respect, no doubt, as the controversy shows, Mohammedanism is valuable to the African heathen. It carries with it a Koran Temperance Society, while the commercial Christians—the traders—flood the dark continent with the

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things that intoxicate. In adaptability to the mental measure of the Africans, Mohammedanism is, no doubt, first, while its ritual and its power to interest and divert are also superior to anything which Christianity has to offer. But this is not saying that, in an absolute sense, the doctrine of Mohammed surpasses that of the New Testament. Its superior success is rather owing to the fact that it is not, when applied, quite so spiritual and lofty, but rhymes better with the material and practical advances which touch the crude African mind, and which it is within his power to accept and illustrate.

JOEL BENTON.

VII.

THE TECHNICAL STRAIT-JACKET.

THE now familiar fact that invention is the legitimate offspring of necessity, was, no doubt, originally discovered by a very primeval person. He did not formulate the well-known proverb on the instant; æons of profound research passed before that was effected; but he recognized necessity, and straightway did what she required of him, thereby inaugurating the noble profession of engineering, which is only another name for ingenuity. Never in history has the engineering instinct developed so rapidly as within the present century, and nowhere has its advance been so marked and general as in America. The reason for this is not far to seek. To the narrow strip of sea-coast first occupied by Europeans there came only the adventurous, the energetic, the self-reliant of all the maritime nations; sailormen most of them, than whom there are no better practical engineers on earth.

The conditions of life were such as to stimulate all the inventive mechanical faculties in a very high degree, and especially was this the case where a sterile soil and a rigorous climate offered little in the way of gratuitous favors.

New England parents, whose brains were ever intent upon surmounting the obstacles and making good the deficiencies of their rough surroundings, naturally begat children even more fertile in expedients than their progenitors, and the records of the Patent Office show how intensely active has been the New England mind in this direction—so much so indeed that the phrase "Yankee Notions" has found a place in the dictionaries.

Such a school could hardly fail to be prolific of natural engineers, and while they may have made mistakes that a more elaborate technical training would have enabled them to avoid, their inventiveness, their fertility of resource, and their tireless energy were everywhere conspicuous.

But civilization sometimes dwarfs the individual. It savors of Philistinism to say it, but the influence of a too elaborate technical training upon many minds is to fix them unalterably in certain grooves.

For the plodders, who are usually in the majority, this may do well enough, and to their careful work we must look for the stability of our bridges and the trustworthiness of our dams and viaducts. There are gifted engineers, however, whose genius is only cramped by too much school tradition. It were easy to multiply instances where amateurs have set at naught the predictions of carefully trained engineers; but let the case of the late James B. Eads and the Mississippi jetties suffice. His failure was predicted with great unanimity by the United States corps of engineers, but the increased depth of water at the mouth of the great river is evidence of his superior insight.

Our purpose is by no means to throw discredit upon the schools. They doubtless raise the general average of efficiency, but they should studiously guard

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against doing so at the expense of individual genius. An instructor ought to see after a year's observation of a student whether the treadmill of the regular curriculum is best in his case beyond a certain point. It is by no means easy to plan a course of instruction so that it shall meet the requirements of all cases. Technical schools call for rare endowments on the part of instructors, but it would seem that something more might be done than is done to avoid reducing the American engineer to the level of a well-constructed automaton, like too many European engineers of the present day. Such a state of things is the necessary result of centuries of development on fixed lines, and it must in due course come to us; but we have special climatic and topographical conditions here that call for special treatment, and we are not yet prepared to say precisely what line of instruction is, upon the whole, best for our peculiar requirements.

EDWARD COGSWELL.

VIII.

IMMORTALITY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

IN your last number Mr. Ingersoll's reply to Dr. Field contains the following upon the subject of immortality: "How is it that there is nothing in the Old Testament on this subject? How do you account for the fact that you do not find in the Old Testament, from the first mistake in Genesis to the last curse in Malachi, a funeral service? Is it not strange that some one in the Old Testament did not stand by an open grave of father or mother and say: 'We shall meet again?'"

Many are in the habit of flippantly asserting that the Old Testament does not teach the doctrine of eternal existence. But how, if that be so, can we interpret the yearnings and longings of people in those days for a "righteous death?" Many passages in these writings have no meaning except upon the basis of belief in immortality.

It is a matter of history that the question of a future life was the dividing line between Pharisees and Sadducees.

There are also direct statements:

"Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."—Eccles. xii. 7.

"Thy dead men shall live; together with my dead body shall they arise."—Isaiah xxvi. 19.

A wicked prophet besought that he might "die the death of the righteous." It was, no doubt, because he believed in what was expressed by Solomon:

"The wicked is driven away in his wickedness, but the righteous hath hope in his death."

Of similar import is the language of Daniel (xii. 2): "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

The alleged absence of a funeral service is a mistake. The solemnities attending the burial of loved ones may not be rehearsed in detail, but they are abundantly implied, especially in such passages as Genesis 50th chap., and II. Samuel iii. 31, etc.

There is good reason to suppose that upon many such an occasion the certainty of meeting again was as clearly announced as it was by David in the 12th chapter of II. Samuel: "While the child was yet alive I fasted and wept, for I said, who can tell whether God will be gracious to me, that the child may live? But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

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I am aware that all these passages have been subjected by some to a torturing process, but unless taken in a non-natural sense they are a complete reply to Mr. Ingersoll.

T. G. DASHIELL.

IX.

START INCUBATORS EARLY.

AN "esteemed contemporary"—devoting its columns to the discussion of religious questions and topics of interest to agriculturists and country people generally—advises its readers to "start incubators early." The many persons who have experimented with those wonderful machines, which (according to circulars and advertisements) supplement the maternal instincts of the female of "Plato's man," will at once admit that one cannot learn the methods of operating incubators any too soon. As the paper from which I have quoted suggests, "Nothing but experience can teach one how to run them successfully."

Now, I would respectfully but firmly offer the same advice to the politician, "Start your incubators early."

The politician must (like the agriculturalist who goes into the chicken business) first catch his egg. This, in political matters, will be a young man with a shell of ambition and a purse well filled with white silver and yellow gold—and now is the time to look up such specimens. A little later the time will come when he will have to be put into the political incubator, the nominating convention. During this latter period he will have to be looked after, every now and then, and perhaps held up to scrutiny as the embryo chick in the hen's egg is; but if he is not "sterile"—that is, if he has the germs of feathers worth plucking—he will be pretty sure to develop into a fowl that can at least be sold (out).

I am not a betting man, but if I were, I should bet that my advice was worth following. It was suggested by a religious newspaper; and an ecclesiastical wire-puller can, I think, give odds to any politician who ever manipulated the strings of our marionettes in public life.

It may be objected that nominating conventions will not be held for some months yet; but the wise farmer never puts the first egg that his hens lay into his incubator immediately it is laid. No, he collects the eggs one after another as they are found and keeps them in saw-dust or salt or some preservative mixture until all the places in his incubator can be filled. The experienced politician will have no trouble in keeping his embryo candidates fresh. A continually favorable mention in the newspapers is warranted to preserve the freshness of every embryo candidate.

I am sure that if politicians will only ponder over this advice they will perceive how wise it is, and will speedily proceed to "start incubators early."

OLNEY SEARLES.

X.

GEORGEISM MAKING THE RICH RICHER.

I SHOULD like to ask Mr. Henry George this question: Suppose his theories should be embodied in the laws, would not then the wealthy real-estate holders of our great cities have advantages over their poorer fellow citizens far greater than they possess now? Would not the real estate Crœsus of the metropolis then pay a much smaller proportion of the taxes than he does to-day? A lot of ground, value say $10,000, on which he builds a house costing say $30,000, would be taxed

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on a valuation of $10,000 in place of $40,000, for Mr. George would let all the taxes fall on the land only. Their residences, the tenements they build, their factories, etc., would go free. Would not thus the rich grow richer?

BARCLAY ADAMS.

XI.

COMMUNISM AND PROTECTION.

IT is a historical fact that Communistic theories of robbery had but little foothold in this country prior to the inauguration of the present protective tariff policy. Is their prevalence now a coincidence merely? Or is there any necessary relation between Communism and tariffs for protection?

Communism, Socialism, Henry Georgeism, and all that family of dogmas, have, among their adherents, one common essential principle—that it is the right and the duty of Government to seize, by law, the fruits of the labor of one man and divide them with others.

Tariffs for protection have for their essential and fundamental principle the right and the duty of Government to seize, by law, the earnings of one man and give them over to another.

The advocates of Protection and the Socialists both not only claim this common fundamental right, but both base their claim upon a patriotic regard for the general welfare, the difference being mainly in the character and influence of the men who advocate the one or the other.

In a speech delivered by Mr. Blaine in August, 1886, at Lake Sebago, he boasted of the enormous growth in wealth of those States which had availed themselves to the greatest extent of the Protective Tariff within the past twenty-five years. And he sustained his boast with an array of figures that were startling.

It is to be regretted that this distinguished gentleman did not dwell with equal emphasis upon the want of even normal growth in what I may be permitted to distinguish as the consuming States, at whose expense this abnormal growth had been effected. As Mr. Blaine is not ignorant of the economic fact that not the increase so much as the distribution of the wealth of a nation is the true measure of its prosperity, his boastful spirit might have been somewhat dampened if he had sought far enough to find that while there had been a congestion of wealth in the manufacturing States, there had been a corresponding depletion in the consuming States. The earnings of the latter had been seized, by law, and handed over to the former.

One of the pyramids of Egypt, a useless tomb of a despotic monarch, cost the labor of 360,000 men for twenty years. At the same rate of wages that an American laborer receives, this would have cost about three thousand millions of dollars, or about twenty times as much as the assessed valuation of the whole State of Arkansas. The royal residence of Peru cost the labor of 20,000 men for fifty years, while that of Mexico cost the labor of 200,000 men.

It was once the wont to point to these immense expenditures as evidence of the great wealth of these nations. Yet it may well be doubted whether any one of them, in its palmiest days, was equal in wealth to the single State of New York. But the enormous wealth of the king and nobility was at the expense of all the rest of the community. The laborers who built the pyramid received as their share of their own earnings, we are told, less than two cents per day.

In the one case the Government seized, by law, the just earnings of the

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masses and appropriated them to the king and nobles. In the other case, the Government seized, by law, the just earnings of the consumers of our country and appropriated them to the manufacturer and his factory hands.

The Protectionist press and stump orators are accustomed to appeal to the selfishness of the factory hand and of his employer, urging the one to use his ballot and the other his purse, to perpetuate the protective policy, lest the wages of the one and the profits of the other be diminished. The journals and the men who make these appeals represent large wealth and intelligence and influence. What wonder that the less educated Communist should reason that if it is right to use the ballot for taking, by law, the property of the consumer and giving it over to the manufacturer and his workmen, it is equally right for the poor to use their ballot to take from the rich and give to the needy.

W. M. FISHBACK.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LABOR QUESTION.

In Mr. Gunton's recent work* we note a pronounced departure from established economic doctrine, the purpose being, as its title implies, to show that wealth and progress are not incompatible, but are the inevitable accompaniments of each other.

After previous and prevailing economic teachings, an apparent inconsistency in its doctrine may at first strike the reader; but if he give a fairly careful reading he will find that, however novel and startling his propositions, Mr. Gunton does not content himself with assertions, or ask the reader to accept his word for any of his conclusions. If for anything, the book is conspicuous for the close backing of all theory by practical demonstration.

The relation which labor and capital sustain to each other in production is carefully considered, and the fallacy of the often-heard assumption, that labor creates all wealth, clearly shown. For an example of the condition under which labor creates all wealth, he goes back to the time of the primitive savage, and reminds us that never since that time has the laborer created his wealth without the aid of capital (machinery), and never since that time has he created so little—been so poor.

On the other hand, he holds that the basis of the prosperity of the capitalist is the consuming power of the masses; a fact which has been continually overlooked by political economists, who have failed to see that "the extent of the market is mainly determined by the consumption of the laboring class, who, it is estimated, consume about 80 per cent. of the machine-made products of the world," an error which arises from "regarding the laborer as only a factor in production, and ignoring him as an element in consumption."

After touching upon the inadequacy of certain proposed schemes for raising wages, such as redistribution, the regulation of profits, money values, etc., Mr. Gunton states his law of wages. The conclusion that the price of labor (wages), like that of any other commodity, is determined by the cost of its production, *i. e.*, the cost of the laborer's living, and that this price is increased and can be indefinitely increased in proportion as his standard of living is raised, is reached by a line of reasoning which cannot fail to impress a principle which is carefully shown to be so fully sustained by historical fact, so completely consistent throughout, so entirely applicable in explaining the causes of the variations of wages in

* "Wealth and Progress. A Critical Examination of the Labor Problem." By George Gunton. D. Appleton & Co.

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different times, conditions, industries, and countries, can hardly be regarded as a mere theory or creation.

If this principle, that the price of labor and the extent of the market are determined by the consuming power or standard of living of the masses is understood and accepted, the importance of a reform measure which tends to elevate this standard will readily be felt.

Increased leisure for the working classes Mr. Gunton regards as the most effective means.

In support of his proposition for an eight-hour system—the vital question of the book—he gives much convincing evidence of the good effect of reducing working hours in factories in England, and its recognition by leading statesmen, showing that, as a result of this policy, wages have risen and prices fallen without in the least injuring the profits of the capitalist, while as regards the social progress of the people, sufficient statistical evidence is given that this reform has been followed "by the increased intelligence of the masses and the decrease in pauperism and crime."

A chapter in which the industrial progress of England and the United States are compared, and in which is made the statement, sustained by many telling facts, "that during the last 35 years the laboring classes in this country have actually made less progress in social well being than those of monarchical England," gives much food for thought.

II.

THE NEW ASTRONOMY.

DR. LANGLEY has placed the general reading public under obligation to him for the exceeding bright and able treatise * just issued in beautiful form by the Ticknors. The contents of this readable book comprise chapters on the Sun's Spots, the Surroundings and the Energy of the Sun, the Planets and the Moon, Meteors, Comets, and the Stars, and a very complete index to the whole. The work is addressed, not to the professional astronomer, but to that educated public on whose support he is so often dependent for the means of extending the boundaries of knowledge. In this connection the author makes a plea for the New Astronomy, which he intimates, as compared with the Old Astronomy, is almost left unaided, while munificent endowments, private and public, are at the service of the latter. Perhaps a little more explanation on this point would have been acceptable to the general reader, who may be assumed to be very much in the dark as to how he may aid and countenance the study of any particular branch of astronomy, and as to the schools which make a specialty of the New Astronomy or the science of Celestial Physics. If by buying and reading such books as this one of Professor Langley encouragement can be given to investigations which have for their object the solution of problems connected with the structure of the stars and planets, then we should, on this ground alone, hope that such books will command a very large sale, and if in any other way the pursuit can be aided the public should be advised. It is certainly one of the most fascinating subjects on which the ingenuity and industry of the human mind can be engaged. Vast strides have evidently been made within the compass of the present generation towards the answering of questions which everybody feels closely concern our race; great improvements

* "The New Astronomy." By Samuel Pierpont Langley, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the Allegheny Observatory, Member National Academy, Fellow Royal Astronomical Society, etc. Ticknor & Company.

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have been made in astronomical instruments, and who shall say that improvements may not still be made? It is somewhat tantalizing to be told that the stars are unquestionably like us—having the same material elements as are contained in our own bodies and in our own Earth, and yet to be in ignorance as to whether sentient and rational beings may inhabit them, and, if so, whether it be possible for us, with greater knowledge, to hold communication with them.

Professor Langley has not in this book cleared up the mystery of the sun's spots or of the sources of solar heat. His theory with regard to the latter is well known and is admirably stated and defended, namely, that the heat given out by the sun is caused by the gradual shrinkage or settlement of its gaseous substances toward its centre. A contraction of three hundred feet a year would, he states, be more than enough to cause it to give forth all the immense flow of heat we now see, and yet would make so slight a difference in the apparent size of the sun that it could scarcely be noticeable through the most powerful telescope. If this shrinkage is going on at the rate and for the purpose here stated, it is satisfactory to be assured that it will take from five to ten millions of years for it to become solid and cold; for in that case all life on the earth must soon cease to be. Whether there be any way by which the vast quantities of heat radiating in all directions from the sun may be returned to it, is an admittedly open question, but Professor Langley quotes Professor Young on this point to the effect that all analogies in nature, so far, seem to point to the law of a beginning and an end, and that "the present order of things seems to be bounded both in the past and in the future by terminal catastrophes which are veiled in clouds as yet inscrutable." Our author makes all allowance for the falling in of meteors into the sun as a probable supply of heat, but argues that the main origin of the heat is the contraction of the sun's substance, and that, from all data obtainable, the sun's life is covered by about thirty millions of years, of which four or five millions, or possibly as many as ten millions, may yet be in the future, and then "the end will come."

III.

BOOKS ON COLORADO.

COLORADO is so youthful a member of the happy and United family of States glorying in the Stars and Stripes, and is so closely connected in the thought of our people with interests and amusements anything but sedentary, that the appearance of books with the imprint of a Denver publishing house* upon them naturally causes a little flutter of surprise. And yet when one counts the years and reflects upon the wonders of Western enterprise, the sober second thought comes in that, after all, this is just what might be expected. So much light and heat are radiating from these Eastern centres that, if some of it does not come back to us in the shape of printed books, we may begin to fear that our condition of intellectual warmth and energy is due, as in the case of the sun, to a process of contraction only, and may some day cool off with more or less of a catastrophe to mark the end. Be this as it may, we welcome all indications from our sister cities of the Great West of the formation and growth, within and around them, of literary tastes and habits. The West is a great market for books, and is destined no doubt, to be a great producer, though at present, and for many years to come the tendency of life in a State like Colorado must naturally be somewhat opposed to the formation of any distinctively literary or author-producing class.

*"Mountain Trails and Parks in Colorado." By L. B. France. Chain, Hardy & Co.

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"Mountain Trails" is not a matter-of-fact descriptive work, but a journal of vacation travels and incidents. Such, at least, is its purport, and the author is evidently a man of healthful tastes and genial disposition, fully alive to the charms of mountain and sylvan solitude when these luxuries are shared by good companions and trusty friends. No one must read this book with the idea of getting facts and figures about Colorado, its mines and minerals, its population and resources. The author takes his gun and fishing rod and makes for the wilderness, here telling us what he saw and heard and did or failed to do, as a sportsman and tourist. Types of frontier character, sketches of life and scenery, titbits of adventure and experience, and a large amount of dialogue, in which the vernacular holds a prominent place, form the main characteristics of the book, which will be read with pleasure by all who have tasted frontier life or have friends roughing it, as well as by those who are fortifying themselves for the glorious excitement of a similar trip. The book is illustrated by a large number of sketches from nature.

The first glance at the title-page of "Letters from Colorado,"* which, by the way, was forwarded to us by the Denver house of W. H. Lawrence & Co., though the book has the imprint of a Boston firm, would naturally lead one to expect a series of prose compositions, and we imagined ourselves about to be enlightened on many points of present interest as to the natural struggle for existence and supremacy in a young community. We were disappointed to find ourselves face to face with a volume of poetry, for our critical tastes are somewhat surfeited in that direction; but we soon discovered that even in the poetic dress the subject matter of the book claimed attention and awakened interest. Mrs. Wason, for we understand that the author is a lady, has chosen the poetic form of expression—a dangerous attempt, let us say—and has proved herself, if not a poet, a very bright and clever woman, with a quick observant faculty and the power of attractively describing what she sees and hears. The reader need not fear dullness or sentimentality—attributes very common to poetic people, and, of course, entitled to all due respect. No one capable of conceiving the idea of writing poetry can be otherwise than dull and sentimental at times, at least in the opinion of ordinary people, for the poetic mind is unfathomable—so Tennyson—and a great deal of poetry, or what passes for such, is either too high or too deep for comprehension. There is none of that kind of poetic excellence in this little book, but only the bright and rippling outflow of womanly ideas touching matters and things entering into the life of a wide-awake person in a new and strange country writing home to a college friend. And yet, despite a suspicious kind of horror at the mere suggestion of poetry, we must do the author the justice to say that there is some remarkably good descriptive poetry here. Every reader of Byron knows the fascination of a vigorous descriptive style in poetry, and there are many passages here which awaken that feeling.

> Fate led me to a stately Spanish Don
> With two young daughters, brilliant as the sun,
> But full of Eve as are those impish creatures,
> Branded with all perfection in the features.
> Nature must mete her favors with some grace;
> Who gifts of wisdom have, show few of face.
> No leopard in the brake was slimmer, neater,
> Than she called commonly La Signorita.
> And, like a leopard, she had talons hid
> For such as failed to do her will when bid.

*"Letters from Colorado." By H. L. Wason. Cupples & Hurd.

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Here is a capital touch of Nature, descriptive of the experience of a person who has learned horsemanship in a riding school with a "bronco":

One used to riding very seldom halts,
And without thinking in the saddle vaults,
From force of habit touches with the spur,
Which trifling act is apt to make a stir.

Then, too, the bronco never deigns to start
Like well trained horses in the city mart.
But makes an aimless lunge, describes a curve
That shoots electric thrills thro' every nerve,
Leaps wildly in the air, bound after bound,
Ten feet, *often fifteen*, above the ground,
Descending, with his tail spread on the breeze,
An angle forms of forty-five degrees;
Places his head between his stiff fore-legs
Which, when he lights, are rigid as iron pegs;
Plants all his feet together, lifts his back,
And you beyond it with a spiteful thwack;
Suddenly changing from his line of base,
Leaves you suspended, wildly clutching space
'Till gravitation kindly aids your case.

In such catastrophes a sufferer knows
How little sympathy his audience shows.

A somewhat similar scene is sketched in prose by Mr. France in "Mountain Trails:"

"Stepping up to *Breckenridge*, I put my foot into the stirrup and swung myself upon his back, my right leg, in the orthodox method, hugging down his off side, until my toe found its place. This took, perhaps, two seconds; then I wished I had waited until next day, or some other time a long way off. In my seat I was less than five feet from the ground. I felt something swell and rise under me, the five feet lengthened to ten; then, I thought, to twenty. When I came down to the original five my head seemed to be sinking a prospect hole and had got somewhere in the region of my stomach, while my toes, also doing development work, but in the opposite direction, were tunneling my legs. I felt about half an inch high and five feet ten inches in circumference. Being in good condition to roll off, I thought I would; but before I could give the intention shape, I felt the swell again, and the ground was further away than ever. . . . About the time *Breckenridge* struck ground again, I dreamed I was standing on my head somewhere on the side of Mount Bross, the doctor was upside down with the fence on top of him, the Grande was flowing towards its source, and *Breckenridge* was walking off with his feet in the air."

Mrs. Wason, in her "Letters," disguises her individuality and the reader supposes that the author is a being of the sterner sex writing letters to a college friend who publishes them without permission, and, of course, without the author's revision. The style is therefore unconventional and colloquial, and if there is no sentimentality there are bits of true sentiment among the simpler descriptive pieces:

Who leaves a world behind him
To seek a restful land,
Will find a poet's haven
Beside the Rio Grande.
His heart will throb exultant,
All carking care repressed,
When he can hear the river
Chanting a hymn of rest.

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Here is a little of the true Western grit :

> You smile; but Western life is earnest, real.
> We need a creed we can apply and feel ;
> . . . Our rugged life
> Is a continuous war, a savage strife
> To grasp requirements for our daily needs.
> We find sparse time to jangle over creeds,
> And blest is he to whom one God remains ;
> Who from his soul can say "Jehovah reigns,"
> When he has wrenched away those early chains.

It would be easy to go on quoting from this charming little book, which, if not altogether poetic according to the conventional standard, is full of the spirit of poetry, lightened by a vein of quiet humor, and possessing the added grace of a simple fidelity to nature in the descriptive passages, which will at once commend it and give it permanent interest to those familiar with the scenes described.

IV.

SLAV OR SAXON.

THE average reader may be inclined to dissent from the general proposition of Mr. Foulke's new work* on Russia, viz., that a great struggle for supremacy is imminent between England and Russia, despite the positive opinion of so good an authority as Mr. Gladstone, which introduces the book. A careful consideration of the status of the European powers leads Mr. Foulke to the conclusion that only the two named have a future. An immense country, occupying one-sixth of the land on the earth's surface, with her possessions constantly increasing by conquest and colonization ; with such inexhaustible resources, agricultural and mineral, that, were every nation closed against her, she would be less conscious of loss than any country in the world ; with a hardy, patient, vigorous people trained to endurance, a territory so situated that maritime powers could scarcely reach her, and an army larger than any other in the world; with a climate so severe that foreigners cannot long endure its rigors ; with a lack of populous centres, making a lasting conquest of the country almost impossible, Russia certainly presents a formidable front to any hostile nation.

The hundred millions of people to-day subject to the Czar consists of about eighty different races, speaking nearly all languages, and of many religions and pursuits. The native Russian is impelled by many circumstances of his nature and surroundings to emigrate. We quote from Rambaud : "The mountain keeps her own, the mountain calls her wanderer to return ; while the steppe, stretching away to the dimmest horizon, invited you to advance, to ride at a venture, to go where the eyes glance. The flat and monotonous soil has no hold on its inhabitants ; they will find as bare a landscape anywhere. As for their hovel, how can they care for that, it is burned down so often ?"

Mr. Foulke's conclusions concerning the military autocracy do not seem to us fully warranted by the facts. True, on the accession of Anna Ivanovna, an attempt to limit the authority of the sovereign was opposed by the masses, but the terrible record of the intervening years has left its traces even on the Russian peasantry, and it may fairly be questioned whether a similar attempt to-day would be unsuccessful.

The ambitious attempts of Russia to enlarge her boundaries have been on the

* "Slav or Saxon." By Wm. D. Foulke, A.M. Questions of the Day Series. No. XLIII. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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increase since the days when Catherine the Second planned to divide the Turkish Empire, and her recent policy toward Bulgaria shows her insatiate greed of power.

In his closing chapters the author gives an interesting résumé of Russian history, a page thickly blotted with acts of injustice and cruelty; an account of the reforms of Alexander II., and of the present despotic system. He echoes the sentiment of the reader at this point, when he says: "One would think that the more intelligent people of Russia would abandon a country thus infected; but even this poor privilege is denied them; they cannot lawfully leave the empire, nor even their own town, without the consent of their government. Every Russian found without a passport is an outlaw, to be hunted down by the authorities."

The outcome of the struggle between the Slav and the Saxon depends, according to our author, on two things. First, the scope and strength of disintegrating forces in the British Empire, and second, on social and political changes in Russia which may possibly remove aggressive motives.

The whole question appears to Mr. Foulke less remote from American interest than it seems. Russia now desires our moral support, and asks that her political fugitives be surrendered. Some claim for our friendly consideration is found in the friendly attitude of the late Czar to our country during the Civil War.

To combat the false sentiment which would lead us to an act of foul injustice this work has been written, and the author's aim is laudably accomplished.

V.

PATRICK HENRY.

AMERICA is indebted to Prof. Moses Coit Tyler for an excellent contribution to the American Statesmen Series, in the form of a life of Patrick Henry,* the first and only one founded on original investigation since that of Wirt, in 1817. Since this date, a mass of official documents, private correspondence, diaries, and personal records of various kinds, all relating to the times of Henry, have been published, and other unpublished material has become available.

The personal element enters largely into this life, and adds greatly to the reader's interest. Instead of a stately figure-head calmly sailing through the troubled sea of national affairs, as portrayed by the ordinary biographer, we gain a good idea of the man, first as the dreaming, frolicsome boy, "with a mortal enmity to books, supplemented by a passionate regard for fishing-rods and shot-guns; . . . a roamer in woods, a loiterer on river banks, having more tastes and aspirations in common with frontiersmen than with the toilers of civilized life; . . . making small and reluctant progress into the mysteries of reading, writing, and arithmetic." Again, one year after failing in the business of a country store, "having attained the ripe age of eighteen, and being then entirely out of employment, and equally out of money, Patrick rounded out his embarrassments, and gave symmetry to them, as it were, by getting married . . . to a young woman quite as impecunious as himself." Later on, a trio of illustrious horsemen ride slowly into Philadelphia on horseback to attend the First Continental Congress. Besides George Washington and Edmund Pendleton, there is a man looking like a half Quaker in his suit of parson's gray, "in religious matters a saint, but the very devil in politics; a son of thunder," destined hereafter to shake the Senate; or, "traveling homeward along the dusty highway, at once the

* "Patrick Henry." By Moses Coit Tyler. American Statesmen Series. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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jolliest, the most popular, and the least pretentious man in all Virginia, certainly its greatest orator, possibly even its greatest statesman."

Throughout the book Patrick Henry is the central figure, never yielding his place to minor characters. The digressions are few and brief, never extending beyond the necessity of the case, and the strictest rules of biographical writing are carefully adhered to.

Among the important manuscripts recently brought to light of which the author makes interesting use, are certain old fee-books carefully and neatly kept by Mr. Henry from the beginning of his law practice to the last years of his life. From these we learn that during the first three years of his professional career, from 1760 to 1763, a period in which he is accused of living in idleness at the house of his father-in-law, fees were charged in 1,185 suits, besides others for preparing legal papers out of court. Referring to the published misstatements of Thomas Jefferson on this subject, Mr. Tyler says: "This competent and diligent young lawyer (Jefferson), whom, forsooth, the rustling leaves of the forest could never for once entice from the rustle of the leaves of his law-books, did, nevertheless, transact, during his own first four years of practice, less than one-half as much business as seems to have been done during a somewhat shorter space of time by our poor, ignorant, indolent, slovenly, client-shunning, and forest-haunting Patrick."

Most of these suits involved a knowledge of general practice which he was not at that time supposed to possess. But his genius was intuitive; "by a glance of the eye he could take in what an ordinary man might spend hours in toiling for. All his resources were at instant command; . . . he was also a man of human and friendly ways, whom all men loved, and whom all men wanted to help." The celebrated Parsons case, in which the young lawyer made the foundation of his successful career, is treated in a picturesque and graphic style which brings vividly before us the great audience from all the surrounding counties, the twenty learned clergymen on the bench, the magistrate, Mr. Henry's own father, in his chair almost ready to sink in his embarrassment when the awkward youth stumbles carelessly through the opening of his plea, but with cheeks moistened by tears of ecstacy as the young lawyer's face "shone with a nobleness and grandeur it had never before exhibited," and in all parts of the house men were "stooping forward in death-like silence," to catch each word of the wonderful speaker.

The stirring oration before the Virginia convention, memorized by school-boys even to this day, the battle in Virginia over the new constitution, and the closing years of the busy life, though often told, breathe a new interest in this volume. In the words of Mr. Bancroft, the historian, "It is thoroughly and excellently well done." The pages are not marred by elaborate foot-notes, but all authorities cited are named, with editions used, at the close of the book, and a carefully prepared index completes this symmetrical volume.

VI.

A NEW ENGLAND IDYLL.

ALTHOUGH as a rule people born in Boston need not be born again, the writer of this piquant book* has a pretty tale to tell of the mental and ethical phases of a girl of that habitat. This is not Miss Curtis, who is old, but Olive, who has been sufficiently fed on philosophy to discover somewhere between childhood and young-ladyhood that she is "a potentiality and a conscious personality." Her

* "Miss Curtis." A sketch by Kate Gannett Wells. Boston: Ticknor & Company. 1888.

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earlier motto, "Do all I don't want to do," leads to a very wearing "notion of accountability to everybody and everything," but she is presently found writing a composition on the right to go to parties while yet at school. Though reprimanded by her instructors she was unchanged; she "openly declared her belief in the German as preferable, in its effect upon the character, to the study of mathematics or historical dates. Boys were not dangerous, she argued, and there was no harm in accidently meeting them in the recess; they did not divert the mind from lessons, but acted as stimuli." When it is suggested by the lady principal that she will enjoy life better if she waits till she is older and knows more, Olive retorts: "I don't care to know a great deal. I rather know how to make the most of a little. I want to be happy instead of being ambitious." Miss Curtis is introduced to us as an irritable and irritating spinster of fortune, fond of experimenting on people; once she proposed to invite poor children to her house and leave things about to see if they would steal, a scheme prevented by Olive's brother sending her a cream cake stuffed with red pepper, having a grievance of his own to satisfy. Miss Curtis fixes the remnant of her once disappointed affections on Olive, on whom also are set the dutiful inclinations which perform the part of affections in the breast of a young minister fresh from the neighboring Divinity School. This Rev. Mr. Kimen, who "had become that uncomfortable product of himself, a dead-in-earnest man," was anxious that Olive should "develop properly." (He had no idea what he meant, but the phrase strengthened his desire.) Once, when on their way to church, he ventured to intimate that his sermon might help her. Olive answered—"You think sermons reach us girls! It is partly so, but it is more the 'extempore listening' we do, as Mr. Fordher calls it. Some sentence hits us and off we go on our own thoughts, which are like small shot in the way they take the conceit out of us." And when Mr. Kimen asks the use of ministers, "Use?" she exclaimed. "Why, a real minister, who is better than we are, who is elegant and powerful in his manners, and who has got the soul of the world in him, and can bear the burden of the nations, and take it away like the paschal lamb from wearing out the rest of us,—why, he is like Browning and the Bible put together, and we grow better every minute, and ——." She paused, for they were near the church door. Mr. Kimen's church bells never celebrate his nuptials with Olive, the story having indeed other aims than to follow any character to commonplace felicities. It turns out that Miss Curtis had inherited a fortune from her father in a certain village which was aggrieved that the money had not been left to its charities and institutions. The lady, however, proves in the end to be a very good institution to them, with the help of her friend Olive, and the "sketch," as it is modestly called, passes into a pretty and pathetic New England idyll. The village "Baptism," in the river; the "Candy-pull," and other scenes are described with delicate art. Mrs. Wells has put some terse phrases in the mouths of her select circle which deserve to become proverbial; and indeed she may be fairly congratulated on the truth and beauty of this her first venture in the field of imaginative art.

VII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. VAN DYKE'S "Principles of Art"* is a concise, readable presentation of a subject not too often treated acceptably. The first section, which is classified as Art in History, might well be termed a History of Art. The attempt to introduce

*"Principles of Art: Part I., Art in History; Part II., Art in Theory." By John C. Van Dyke, Librarian of the Sage College, New Brunswick, N. J. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

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a mass of historical matter gives one the impression that the author knows quite as much of history as of art, and weighs somewhat heavily on the general theme. Many well-worn topics are unnecessarily elaborated, yet, on the whole, the book is of considerable value, and sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy any but a very profound investigator. An excellent index of the old-fashioned, particular sort, makes the volume a handy book of reference for the busy art student.

If the word poetry be employed in its correct sense as rythmical, metrical, having true poetic essence, and addressed to the feelings, very little of Mr. Stevenson's verse can be regarded as poetry. A vigorous writer of fiction and delightful essayist is not, of necessity, a first-class poet. Of the half hundred selections in this pretty volume,* the last sixteen are in the Scotch dialect, mildly imitative of Burns, though doubtless not by design, and of the others, many are addressed to persons. The language is often very choice and true poetic feeling is by no means wanting. But what shall be said of the poetry of such lines as the following, easily selected at random :

"Out in the city, sounds begins,
Thank the kind God, *the carts come in.*"

. . . . . .

"Dear Andrew of the *brindled* hair
Who glory to have thrown in air
The trembling reed."

True, Macbeth's witch uses this adjective, but with a difference : "Thrice the brindled cat hath mewed."

What shall be said of this same Andrew "*endowed* (by the Creator) with inkpot and with rod."

Of the "ink," which, by strained metonymy, "sings of Helicon."

Of the "strenuous family, which dusted from its hands the sand of granite" preparatory to emigration.

Or of the metre and rhythm of these lines :

"So went the fiat forth, and so
Garrulous like a brook you go."

. . . . .

"My fancy soars like to a kite
And faints in the blue infinite."

. . . . .

"Yet shall your ragged moor receive
The incomparable pomp of eve."

These are a few of the many metrical, rythmical, and grammatical errors strewn thickly through the book, which even the broad mantle of poetic license fails to cover. There are dainty fancies and pleasant lines in this book, but at present we hesitate to accord him a high place among the tuneful brethren.

A little volume† from the pen of a less noted author contains some genuine poetry. Some of it is rugged and obscure, possibly because the poet essays a

* "Underwoods." By Robert Louis Stevenson. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
† "Poems." By David Atwood Wasson. Lee & Shepard.

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flight beyond his powers, yet the struggles are plainly seen and one feels that in time, they might have ended in victory. The sonnets and briefer poems are superior to those of greater length, and many of them, especially those pertaining to nature, evince the poet's deep insight into the meaning of creation, and breathe the true poetic fervor. Of especial excellence are the two semi-metaphysical, yet wholly human, conceptions entitled "All's Well" and "Seen and Unseen," the former of which had a place in Emerson's "Parnassus."

The hand that penned these verses has finished its work, and the collection, from various papers and magazines, was entrusted to a friend who sends them forth in dainty form and with an appreciative preface.

Whether Mr. Stevenson writes* of college days, the characteristics of the canine race, recollections of an old graveyard, or the latest French novel, he is always graceful, original, and vivacious. Many of the essays in his latest volume are autobiographical in their character, while the subjects of others are drawn from such a variety of sources as to render classification difficult. In the "Foreigner at Home" he aims a square blow at Mr. Grant White for his inexcusable Yankee provincialism, while admitting "the grand, tree-like self-sufficiency" of the Englishman. The sketch of his early literary attempts is both entertaining and instructive, and introduces us to a man whose acquaintance we are glad to make. He found diaries "a school of posturing and melancholy self-deception," and gave himself to writing descriptions, dramatic dialogues, and "innumerable gouty-footed lyrics." A delicious account is given of a college magazine, to whose editorship he was invited by three distinguished and revered students, and which lived to see three or four numbers. The first copy, submitted to the lady of his heart, was passed over by her in silence, and he professes that he always thereafter had increased respect for her taste. The essay on "Talk and Talkers" is somewhat Emersonian in style, while others remind one of Lamb's happier moods. In writing of subjects for conversation, he wittily says, "No human being ever spoke of scenery for above two minutes at a time, which makes me suspect we hear too much of it in literature. . . . The weather, the dramatic element in scenery, is far more human, both in import and suggestion, than the stable features of the landscape." Mr. Stevenson often wanders away from the track in which he started, but his detours are always pleasantly suggestive; the return path has a certain bright ease which charms and refreshes, and his well-rounded closing periods more than make amends for minor delinquencies.

Less delicate in expression and choice of subject, yet similar in general effect, is the "Virginibus Puerisque" by the same author. His fancy trips rather too lightly over serious themes, his premises are not always correct, hence the conclusions fall short of exactness. Yet there is a vivacity and freshness in these minor sketches which will charm away many a pleasant hour. The author confesses that only a portion of the volume answers to the long projected title, and that whereas he began to write as the *Advocatus Juventutis*, age crept on apace, the old ruddy convictions of youth deserted him, and not being able to remain forever at twenty-five, "the shade of the prison house has fallen" over the latter portion of his work.

When a busy physician, whose mind is supposed to be saturated with drugs and hardened with plasters, indulges in fiction, we have come to expect something excellent. Dr. Weir Mitchell,† who has so well met this expectation in "Hepzibah

* "Memories and Portraits." By Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons.

† "Prince Little Boy and Other Tales out of Fairy Land." By S. Weir Mitchell, M. D. J. B. Lippincott Company.

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Guiness" and "In War Time," now puts on his thinking cap and tells a series of *funny fairy stories to the children, and names it "Prince Little Boy."* They are not just like any other fairy stories, except that the scheme whereby Fuz-Buz, the captive fly, and a Spanish fly at that, tells stories for his life to Mrs. Spider Grabem and her voracious offspring reminds us of the plot of the "Arabian Nights." The Trained Bear, returning to his forest life and astonishing his friends by his tricks, Prince Lazy Bones and his Peck of Troubles, which he tries to lose; the Wolf that Wanted a Doctor, and the Great Giant Smokey-Pokey, with a half dozen others, furnish whimsical themes for the amusing and bright little stories which all wide-awake boys and girls will thoroughly enjoy.

Of the many contributions to Shakespearean literature, some aim to display the author's erudition, others are mere *replicas* of the text with obvious annotations, while still others enable us to gain a clear insight into the world of Shakespeare's fancy and sensibly broaden our comprehension of his work. To the latter class emphatically belongs the compact little volume of Lowell Institute lectures,* seven in number, which were delivered in Boston by Mr. Henry Giles, some years ago, on "Human Life in Shakespeare." These are now reprinted with an introduction by John Boyle O'Reilly, and will be heartily welcomed by all lovers of Shakespearean study. The topics treated are "The Growing and Perpetual influence of Shakespeare"; "Human Life in Shakespeare"; "Man and Woman in Shakespeare"; "Shakespeare's Comic Power, his Tragic Power, and his Personality." The lectures possess intrinsic value for their enunciation of the principles by which creative effort should be estimated, no less than for the appreciative perception of the inner life, the methods and motives of the great poet. By careful study of Stratford in its industries, institutions, and general conditions, Mr. Giles has evolved for us a real personality, a substantial and satisfactory citizen, instead of the shadowy and unreal Shakespeare of the popular fancy. We cannot too highly commend these valuable and delightful lectures, which were so popular at the time of their delivery that they were repeated each day to accommodate the overflowing audiences. They are not too abstruse for younger readers nor too simple for the learned, and this universality of interest doubtless arises from the permeating influence of the subject.

A volume of essays and sketches† from Mr. Scudder's pen promises an agreeable literary repast, with some of the substantials as well as the delicacies of such a banquet. There are a dozen brief sketchy chapters about Elisha Mulford, Dr. Muhlenberg, F. D. Maurice, Emerson, and Anne Gilchrist and others, which contain discriminating analyses of character and of literary effort. Some of these are brightened by personal reminiscences, one of which we quote from the chapter on Elisha Mulford: "At the end of an evening, when one was laying aside books and papers, a ring at the bell would announce a caller. Enter Mulford, very doubtful about putting aside his hat and coat: he had come in merely for a moment; he could not stay. Then one would put more wood on the fire and settled one's self to that three or four hours' talk which was sure to follow, with good byes at last under the stars at midnight that seemed nearer than before." Longfellow and his Art are ably discussed, and the anatomy of "Excelsior" is

* "Human Life in Shakespeare." By Henry Giles. With Introduction by John Boyle O'Reilly. Lee and Shepard, Boston, and Chas. T. Dillingham, N. Y.

† "Men and Letters. Essays in Characterization and Criticism." By Horace E. Scudder. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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revealed in a study of two drafts of the poem, with corrections as they came from the hand of the poet, which are found in the Harvard College Library. Other very readable and carefully written essays fill out the volume, and Mr. Scudder may feel assured that whenever he sees fit to "come out into the light" and suffers "the ghostly voice to become articulate," his thought will find ready acceptance and appreciation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Men and Letters: Essays in Characterization and Criticism. Horace E. Scudder.

Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters. John Bach McMaster.

Patrick Henry. Moses Coit Tyler.

D. Appleton & Co.

The Divine Man: from the Nativity to the Temptation. George Dana Boardman.

The Lawyer, the Statesman, and the Soldier. George S. Boutwell.

Weather. A Popular Exposition of the Nature of Weather Changes from Day to Day. Hon. Ralph Abercromby.

Little Peter. A Christmas Morality for Children of any age. Lucas Mallet.

Ticknor & Co.

The New Astronomy. Samuel Pierpoint Langley, Ph.D., LL.D.

Chain, Hardy & Co.

Mountain Trails and Parks in Colorado. L. B. France.

G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Life of George Washington Studied Anew. Edward Everett Hale.

The Story of Ireland. Hon. Emily Lawler, with some additions by Mrs. Arthur Bronson.

T. Y. Crowell & Co.

A Russian Proprietor and other Stories. Count Lyof N. Tolstoi.

The Vagrant and other Tales. Vladimir Korolénko. Translated from the Russian by Mrs. Aline Delano.

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Boys and Other Boys. Lucy A. Scott.

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M. T. Wynne.

How to Paint Tapestry. M. T. Wynne.

Samuel Huebsch.

Volapük. A Guide for Learning the Universal Language. S. Huebsch.

Charles Scribner's Sons.

Memoir of Fleeming Jenkin. Robert Louis Stevenson.

Funk & Wagnalls.

The Works of William Shakespeare, in reduced fac-simile from the famous first folio edition of 1623.

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